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ABSTRACT

As a followup to an earlier study, this report examines the numbers, motivations, characteristics, and labor market behavior of legal immigrants to the United States. The data used is from published and unpublished government statistics, a survey of 5,000 1970 immigrants, and interviews with 254 of the 1970 cohort. The first three chapters provide the historical, demographic, and legislative background for the 400,000 immigrants that arrive on the average annually. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the 1970 cohort of immigrants, discussing their earnings, personal characteristics, motivation for immigration, and labor market experiences. Whenever possible, comparisons are drawn between the 1970 immigrants and other groups of immigrants as well as between the general population and the immigrants. It is reported that (1) although most immigrants come to the U.S. for economic reasons, the majority are admitted for familial, not labor-related, reasons; (2) their demographic profile closely resembles the general population in age mix, educational level, and marital status; (3) their earnings increase in the U.S., and they work fewer hours; (4) female immigrants quickly earn as much as their peers while the males more slowly approach equity; and (5) substantial occupational change occurs for the immigrants, much of which is downward. The report concludes with recommendations for legislation to aid immigrants in the labor market and to change U.S. immigration policies. (ELG)

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SEVEN YEARS LATER: THE EXPERIENCES OF THE 1970 COHORT OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE U.S. LABOR MARKET

by

David S. North

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16. Abstracts

This study deals with the experience of legal immigrants in the U.S. labor market. Each year about 400,000 such immigrants enter the U.S., and each year about 222,000 immigrants (net) enter the labor market. The demographic profile of the legal immigrants is close to that of the population at large, and is thus different from that of illegal immigrants (who tend to be young, single males). In the U.S., immigrants earn more money and work fewer hours per week than they did in their homeland, and, in the case of women, quickly earn as much as their peers; the men appeared to be on their way to earnings equity with their peers. There are substantial occupational group movements, many of which initially at least are downwards. The study is based on published and unpublished government statistics and on a survey of the 1970 cohort of immigrants.

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(See Table of Contents for list of subjects covered in Statistical Appendix Tables)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Subject: The experiences in the U.S. labor market of legal immigrants; their numbers, motivations, characteristics, and labor market behavior; and U.S. policies towards them.

How Many?: The United States, in recent years, has been admitting close to 400,000 immigrants a year, a number which will increase, at least temporarily, because of past governmental decisions about Indochinese refugees and Western Hemisphere immigration and possible future decisions regarding the status of illegal immigrants. The 400,000 level is higher than the average yearly level of admissions from the mid-twenties to the mid-sixties, but lower than that of the turn of the century. The majority of arriving immigrants become U.S. workers, and account for approximately one-eighth of the annual increase in the U.S. labor force. (The increase caused by illegal immigration would be in addition to this figure.)

Why Do They Come?: In findings parallel to those of a similar survey taken by the Canadian Government of their immigrants, most U.S. immigrant respondents indicated that they came for economic reasons--despite the fact that most immigrants to the U.S. are admitted for familial, not labor market, reasons.

What Are Their Characteristics?: The demographic profile of recent groups of legal immigrants have resembled those of the population at large (save for their foreign birth); the age mix, level of education, and marital status have been close to the national norms. These recent immigrants are thus quite different from earlier groups of immigrants and apparently from the current illegal aliens, who are more likely to be single adults, predominately male, and poorly educated.

What Happens To Legal Immigrants In The Labor Market?: They earn much more money in the U.S. than in their homeland, and they work 10 fewer hours per week. The female immigrants quickly earn more (perhaps by working longer) than their peers in the labor market; and the males were approaching equity with their peers more slowly (with other factors being held constant). There are substantial net occupation group movements, presumably masking even larger gross movements, and much of this is, initially, downward. Clearly, for a variety of reasons, at least some of the human capital borne by the immigrants is lost in the transition.

What Are Our Policies?: Although a preponderance of the arriving immigrants become workers in the U.S., only a small minority of them are screened with labor market considerations in mind. While virtually all other segments of the labor force are protected from discrimination by employers, under most circumstances immigrants are not so protected. Further, immigrants (other than those who are members of large refugee influxes) are not the targets of specialized manpower programs, as are many other segments of the workforce (e.g., veterans, former prisoners, minority youth).

Study Methodology: Data were drawn from the 1970 Census of the foreign born, published Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) data on recent groups of immigrants, unpublished INS data on a sample of 5,000 of the immigrants admitted in FY 1970, unpublished Social Security Administration data on the earnings of 1,393 1970 immigrants, a survey of 254 1970 immigrants, and secondary sources.

INTRODUCTION

This report is part of a larger body of work, written over the last nine years for various Government agencies, sometimes with co-authors (notably Marion F. Houstoun) and sometimes without, but all dealing with the impact on U.S. society of immigration. The principal focus has been on the interaction between the immigration process and the U.S. labor market.

There are three types of aliens in the United States: undocumented or illegal ones, who violated U.S. laws regarding the entry and presence of aliens in the nation, either by their undocumented entry or through abuse of the visa which enabled them to legally enter this country; nonimmigrants, who are temporarily admitted for a specific purpose; and immigrants or "permanent resident aliens," who can alone move about the labor markets at will, stay for the balance of their lives, and are eligible for citizenship via the naturalization process. The first group of aliens, now by far the most publicized and researched group of alien workers, was the subject of our study which has become known as the North-Houstoun Report;* in that document, written for the Labor Department in the Spring of 1976, we concluded that the principal impact of the illegal aliens was on the labor market (and not on the U.S. Treasury) and that the principal nature of the impact was to depress wages and working conditions in places where the illegal aliens concentrated. The second group of workers, the nonimmigrants, which includes such varied elements as sugar cane cutters, circus performers, waiters, and British rock stars, is the subject of a report for the Labor Department which is now being completed.

The third type of alien workers, the immigrants, are the subject of this report, which is a followup to a study written five years ago for the Labor Department, Immigrants and the American Labor Market. In that study, William G. Weissert and I examined the characteristics and labor market behavior of the 1970 cohort of immigrants, using as our prime data source the visa application forms filed in 1969 and 1970, and the alien address cards filed in 1972, by a sample of 5,000 working age members of that year's group of arriving immigrants. We concluded in that report that there was a substantially higher labor force participation rate for immigrants than was previously realized, and that there was, not unexpectedly, a substantial amount of movement across occupational group lines in the first two years of exposure to the U.S. labor market.

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*David S. North and Marion F. Houstoun, The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market: An Exploratory Study (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, March 1976).

This report also deals with the 1970 cohort of immigrants, as a proxy for the immigrants of the last decade, and uses Social Security earnings data as well as 254 retrospective longitudinal interviews of the members of the earlier sample of 5,000 working age immigrants; it seeks to describe what happened in the labor market to that cohort of immigrants.

The manpower policy implications of all three elements in the alien work force, immigrants, nonimmigrants, and illegals, are covered in another work, in press as this is written, "Manpower Policy and Immigration Policy in the United States: An Analysis of a Nonrelationship," which was prepared for the National Commission for Manpower Policy. In that report, Allen LeBel and I indicated that immigration policy is made with little recognition of its manpower implications, and that when such considerations are taken into account, the results are not always those desired by the lawmakers. For example, in 1952 the Congress gave first priority, within the existing quota limits, for highly skilled workers, allocating up to 50% of the visas to these workers and their families; in many years only a tiny fraction of the visas available to such workers were utilized in this way.

In addition, we have prepared a series of specialized reports on various aspects of immigration to the United States. The first of these was on green-card commuters, The Border Crossers: People Who Live in Mexico and Work in the United States, in which we described the labor-market impact of the legal movement of a largely unskilled work force across the California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas borders. This was produced in 1970 for the Department of Labor. The next publication, also for the Labor Department, entitled Alien Workers: A Study of the Labor Certification Program, was written in 1971. It examined the workings of the one part of the immigrant-screening process which deals with manpower considerations; it concluded that the certification program was of minimal utility, as it screened only a small fraction of those permanent resident aliens who enter the U.S. labor market annually.

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) then funded three reports, written with Ms. Houstoun, which outlined various techniques for estimating the population, flows, and characteristics of illegal aliens in the United States.* One of these estimating techniques was used in "Fraudulent Entrants: A

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*The products of this work were, Illegal Alien Study Design, 3 vols, Vol I, Final Report, Vol II, Bibliography, Vol. III, Research Design, May 1975.

Study of Malafide Applicants for Admission at Selected Ports of Entry on the Southwest Border and at Selected Airports," which was written for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS);* using a random sample method and a careful inspection of applicants for admission, with the usual time pressures removed, the eight INS inspectors assigned to this experiment found a substantially higher percentage of malafide applicants for admission than are normally identified, suggesting that on approximately 500,000 occasions a year such aliens fraudulently pass through the ports of entry undetected.

Work on the present report was done over a period of years in several institutional frameworks; the contract for the work was with Linton & Company, a Washington consulting firm; the interviews were conducted by TransCentury Corporation; the report was written while the author was with the Center for Labor and Migration Studies of the New TransCentury Foundation.

I would like to note here my gratitude to the Department of Labor, and specifically to Dr. Howard Rosen, Director of the Office of Research and Development, and our monitor, Ms. Ellen Sehgal, for their continuing support and remarkable patience on a long, drawn-out, complicated project; I would like to record, simultaneously, my gratitude to numerous individuals within INS who were extremely helpful, and my dismay with our inability to secure a random sample of the 1970 cohort of immigrants, a subject which is dealt with more extensively in Appendix A.

I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to a number of people at the Social Security Administration, specifically to Mr. John Carroll, Assistant Commissioner, who approved our request for a data exchange, and to Mr. Joseph Salis, who supplied us with detailed longitudinal earnings data on a subsample of the original 5,000 immigrants and answered our many questions concerning those data.

There are no qualifications to my thanks to my former co-author, Ms. Houstoun, who was extremely helpful in connection with this report; and to my colleagues at TransCentury, Warren Wiggins, President, B.J. Warren, Vice President and Survey Manager, and Debby Hopkins, who conducted the immigrant interviews with skill. I also wish to thank Lili Wilson-Hishmeh, Robin Wagner, Charles Mann, and the late John Dellaplaine for their major contributions. I remain, however, solely responsible for the approach to the data, the conclusions drawn therefrom, and any and all errors which may have occurred.

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*That document was not published by INS, but an INS-produced condensation of it was made available.

DEFINITIONS

Since much of the data on this subject are drawn from agencies which do not use the same concepts, the Census Bureau and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, we have established the following definitions for use in this report:

Foreign Born: This (Census) term encompasses all residents of the U.S. born abroad to non-U.S. citizen parents; it thus includes naturalized citizens and the three classes of aliens (permanent resident aliens, nonimmigrants, and illegal aliens) which are defined below. It excludes citizens born abroad to one or two citizen parents, persons who become citizens by derivation; this small but interesting class is excluded from this report as well.

Immigrants: Two classes of persons are covered by this term, permanent resident aliens (those foreign born admitted to the U.S. on a permanent basis) and naturalized citizens (former permanent resident aliens who secure citizenship through the naturalization process).

Permanent Resident Aliens: Legal immigrants who have not become naturalized citizens; on the U.S.-Mexico border these persons are sometimes called "green carders" because of the formerly green (now blue) form I-151 which they carry as identification.

Nonimmigrants: Persons admitted temporarily to the United States to perform a specific function (such as tourist, student, or diplomat); nonimmigrants may, under some circumstances, adjust their status to that of permanent resident alien; nonimmigrants, unless they adjust their status or enlist in the armed forces, are not eligible to become U.S. citizens.

Illegal Aliens: Persons who either entered without inspection (thus EWIs) or those who subsequently abused the documents which permitted their entrance, by staying too long, or violating the terms of those documents, generally by accepting unauthorized employment (thus visa abusers).

Cohort: A group of persons; here used to identify groups of immigrants admitted in a given fiscal year; the principal subject of this report is the cohort of immigrants admitted as permanent resident aliens in fiscal year 1970 (which ran from July 1, 1969 through June 30, 1970). At this writing, some members of this cohort are still permanent resident aliens, some have become citizens, some have left the nation, and a few have died.

Labor Certification Beneficiary: An individual alien, found by the Department of Labor to be a needed worker whose wages and working conditions will not depress U.S. standards; such a determination by the Department can lead to permanent resident alien status for the worker and his or her dependents, if they meet the other criteria of the immigration system.

Sample: In this report, 5,000 working age, FY 1970 immigrants aged 18-59 in 1970, whose matched visa applications and alien address cards were studied in Immigrants and the American Labor Market.

Subsample: Here, 1,393 individuals for whom social security numbers were known, and who, in turn, were known to the Social Security Administration, drawn from the sample of 5,000 working age immigrants.

Study Group: (also respondents) 254 members of the sample of 5,000 who were interviewed about their labor market experiences after responding favorably to a letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service requesting their cooperation.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND: U.S. IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION POLICY

CHAPTER ONE

Before we can usefully examine the labor market experiences of the 1970 cohort of immigrants, it is necessary to outline the background for those experiences, which we do in the first three chapters of the report.

Chapter One deals with the nation's immigration policies and the principal results of those policies (i.e., immigrants). The three sections of this chapter cover, in turn, the changes over time in the manner in which would-be immigrants have been selected and the post-admission controls over their labor market activities; the flows of immigrants, which have averaged about 400,000 a year recently, a number which will, however, temporarily increase in the immediate future; and the stock of the foreign born, the cumulative result of past immigration. This chapter, then, provides a legal and demographic backdrop for the labor market adventures of the 1970 cohort.

Chapter Two outlines the personal characteristics of the recent cohorts of immigrants, including that of 1970. It is useful to know something of the age, sex, and national origin of recent immigrants, as well as their destinations within the nation, for such characteristics are important factors in determining labor market behavior.

Chapter Three reviews the available data, largely from the Census, of the labor market roles and characteristics of those foreign-born persons who were already in the U.S. labor market when the cohort of 1970 arrived.

With this legal, demographic, and historical background in place, the fourth and fifth chapters deal with the 1970 cohort of immigrants, per se, while the final chapter draws some policy implications from the data presented. Whenever appropriate, comparisons are made among data available on the 1970 cohort of immigrants and other groups of immigrants to the U.S., the legal ones of the past and the illegal ones of today; comparisons are also made to the population or the labor force generally.

I. United States Immigration Policy and Procedures

Although the nuances of U.S. immigration policy have been adjusted frequently throughout the nation's history, one can identify five distinct phases of immigration policy; the fiscal year 1970 cohort of immigrants arrived in the second full year of the fifth phase, that of familial screening.

The first phase of our immigration policy dealt with the involuntary migration of slaves; while the slave trade was nominally illegal after 1808, it persisted until the Emancipation Proclamation. Overlapping that phase was the period of no numerical limits-no screening, the time of the open door, which ended with the passage of the first law regulating free migration, the Immigration Act of 1875. For the next half century, with immigration sometimes reaching annual totals of one million and more, the nation was in the qualitative screening-no numerical limits phase. During this period, everyone who wanted to come to the United States could do so, except members of certain classes found undesirable by the Congress, such as Chinese, anarchists, prostitutes, and the handicapped.

The fourth phase of our immigration policy, that of ethnic screening, was operative from 1921 through June 30, 1968, when the most recent major revision of our immigration policy, the Immigration and Nationality Amendments of 1965, went into full effect. During this period, both an overall quota on Eastern Hemisphere immigration and separate country-of-origin quotas were established, which made it relatively easy for would-be immigrants from Western or Northern Europe to enter the nation, difficult for Southern Europeans to do so, and just about impossible for Asians.

The openly ethnocentric, country-of-origin system for screening would-be immigrants was attacked, with varying degrees of vigor, by Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, and finally, in 1965, with the nation in a mood for reform, Congress passed the Amendments of 1965, which eliminated the country-of-origin system (after a three-year transition period) and replaced it with the immigrant-screening system which (with some minor modifications) is in place today.

The post-1965 immigration policy of the nation rests on three principals, to each of which there are exceptions:

1. The nation can absorb only a finite number of immigrants (presumably a smaller number than want to immigrate) and thus there are numerical limitations on most would-be immigrants.
   Exception: this does not apply to immediate relatives of U.S. citizens.

2. An alien's ability to secure an immigrant visa does not relate to his race, color, creed, or country of origin.
   Exception: the 20,000 ceilings for individual nations, and the much smaller ceilings established for European possessions (such as some islands in the Caribbean and Hong Kong) have tended to limit

immigration, respectively, from Italy, the Philippines, some Caribbean islands, and Hong Kong, as well as from Mexico (since the passage of the 1976 Amendments).

3. The Congress has decided, with great precision, the classes of family members, needed workers, and refugees, which may be admitted under the law.
   Exception: The Executive, from time to time, using an emergency provision in the law, causes the admission of numbers of refugees, most recently the Indochinese; these admissions, which lead to immigrant status for the refugees at a future date, are called "paroles," one of the several unfortunate terms (like "qualitative screening") used in this field.

The 1965 Amendments set hemispheric quotas on numerically limited immigration (i.e., on all admissions except those of spouses, children, and parents of U.S. citizens, and several smaller classes, such as former overseas employees of the United States); the ceiling for the Eastern Hemisphere is 170,000, and that from the Western Hemisphere is 120,000. Until the 1965 Amendments, there had been no numerical limitations on New World immigrants.

Within the 170,000 ceiling for the Eastern Hemisphere, the Congress also created a series of seven preference and one nonpreference categories (a system which was extended to the Western Hemisphere with the 1976 Amendments). The seventh preference was assigned to refugees, the third and the sixth to needed workers and the other preferences to relatives of either citizens or permanent resident aliens.* And, as we will show subsequently, the vast majority of immigrants are admitted not because this society has decided that it needs their skills, or because the nation feels an obligation to be helpful (as in the case of the refugees), but because they are related to someone, usually someone foreign-born, who is legally present in this country. Hence the term, familial screening for this phase of immigration policy.

How did the members of the 1970 cohort of immigrants secure their admission to this nation? The vast majority were admitted because someone in the United States requested it, usually a relative and sometimes an employer. A handful of immigrants were able to enter without direct U.S. ties; these included some of the most skilled of the professionals and the refugees.**

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*For a year-by-year accounting of the numbers of immigrants admitted in each of the preference categories, see Appendix B.

**The year was not one in which many refugees were admitted; further, because of an anomaly in our approach to the INS record-keeping system, only a few refugees showed up in our sample of 5,000 members of the 1970 cohort, and they were not examined in this study as a separate category.

The procedures which were followed by and on behalf of the 1970 cohort included the following (which are also illustrated in Figure 1):

- labor certification: immigrants whose application for immigrant status is based on a claim that the nation needs their skills are screened by the U.S. Department of Labor; those whose skills are regarded as in demand, and who are destined for jobs (or professions) in which their presence would not depress wages and working conditions, become labor certification beneficiaries. In 1970, for example, physicians could secure a labor certification with relative ease, a craftsman only after a more complex screening process, and a farmworker or factory hand would, under virtually all circumstances, be denied a certification.

- petition: employers with a labor certification in hand for a needed worker, or relatives (who wanted to immigrate one of the several designated classes of relatives) filed petitions with INS, asking that the alien be admitted.

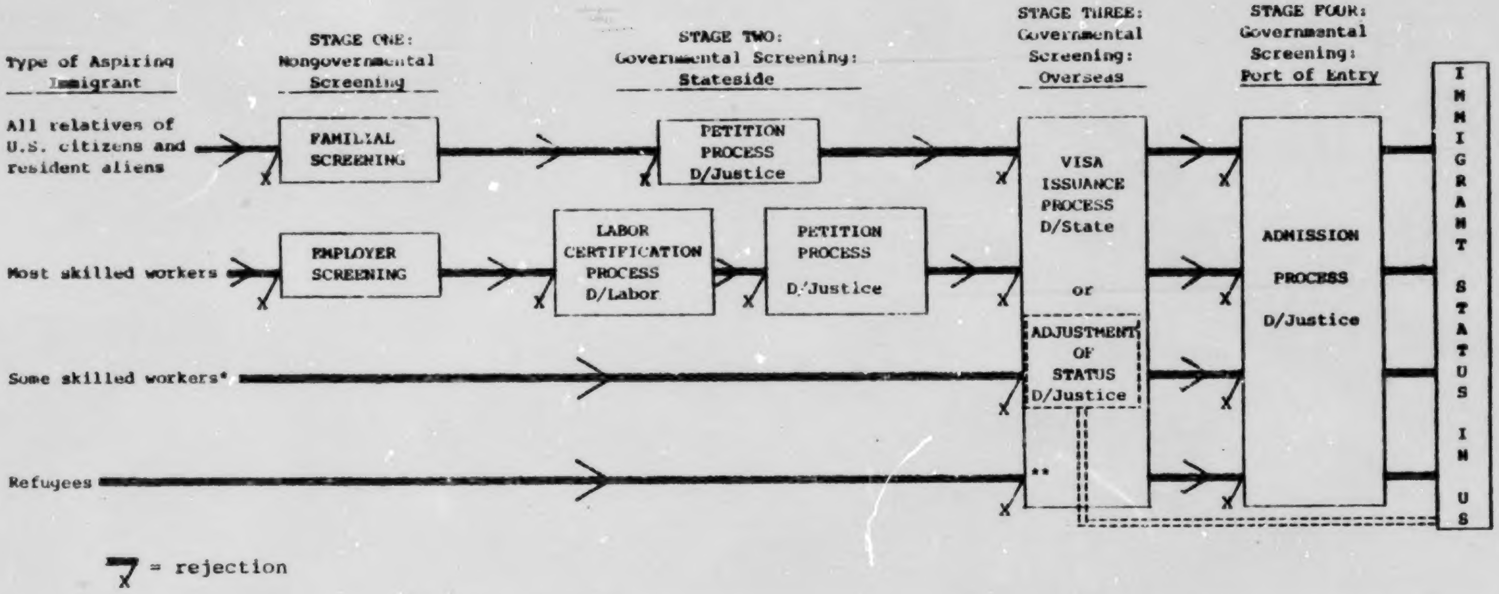
- immigrant visa: all would-be immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, and all would-be immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere, who were at the time in that hemisphere sought immigrant visas from the consular officials of the Department of State. If the official found that the applicant had a valid, INS-approved petition (or in some cases an equivalent document), and a valid application for a visa, and was otherwise eligible for immigrant status, the official either issued an immigrant visa or put the alien on an immigrant visa waiting list (if the category the alien fell into was oversubscribed). This is the only point in the process in which there is a substantial interview of the would-be immigrant, and it is also the point at which the previously mentioned numerical controls (hemispheric and country-of-origin ceilings, and preference allocations) are enforced.

- adjustment of status: at the time the 1970 cohort of immigrants were filing their papers, it was possible for some of them from the Eastern Hemisphere to adjust their status from that of non-immigrant (such as tourist or student) to immigrant while they were in the United States. In this case, the would-be immigrants reported to an INS office for the same process they would have undergone had they been applying to a consular office for an immigrant visa.

- admission: assuming that the would-be immigrant had all of his papers in order, including the all-important immigrant visa, he would then arrive at a port of entry (either along the land borders or, more likely, at one of the international airports) for physical admission to the U.S. If admitted (and only a tiny fraction are denied entry), the immigrant is then given his permanent resident alien identification (the green card or form I-151).

FIGURE 1

The Screening Process for Immigrants to the United States


Type of Aspiring Immigrant
STAGE ONE: Nongovernmental Screening
STAGE TWO: Governmental Screening: Stateside
STAGE THREE: Governmental Screening: Overseas
STAGE FOUR: Governmental Screening: Port of Entry
All relatives of U.S. citizens and resident aliens
Most skilled workers
Some skilled workers*
Refugees
FAMILIAL SCREENING
EMPLOYER SCREENING
PETITION PROCESS D/Justice
LABOR CERTIFICATION PROCESS D/Labor
PETITION PROCESS D/Justice
VISA ISSUANCE PROCESS D/State
or
ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS D/Justice
**
ADMISSION PROCESS D/Justice
IMMIGRANT STATUS IN US
= rejection

Note: This exhibit shows the screening process experienced by the major classes of arriving immigrants (but not all classes); those included are relatives inside and outside the numerical limits, labor certification beneficiaries, and seventh preference refugees.

*Nonpreference, Schedule A labor certification beneficiaries can apply for certification and immigrant visas from the consular officers; nonpreference investors and other nonpreference immigrants exempt from labor certification requirements are treated in a similar manner.

**Seventh preference refugees apply for conditional entry to INS officers overseas, rather than going through the visa issuance process.

Source: Taken from David S. North and Allen LeBel, Manpower Policy and Immigration Policy in the U.S.: An Analysis of a Nonrelationship, (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Manpower Policy, forthcoming), Exhibit III.

- *registration*: during each subsequent January (until such time as the immigrant secures citizenship) the alien is obliged to file an alien address card (I-53) with his name, address, alien number, Social Security number, occupation, and employer. While filing this document is not part of the screening procedure, it is a potentially useful source of data on immigrants after their admission to the nation.

Permanent resident alien status, which the cohort of 1970 achieved following successful completion of the procedures just described, does not guarantee full and free access to the nation's labor markets. In fact, immigrants have to cope with three sets of constraints as they seek equal treatment in the labor market; we are primarily concerned here with the third of these factors, legal barriers to full access to the labor market, but the other two (covered in more detail later in the report) should be at least mentioned.

The first set of constraints are those which the immigrant brings with him. He is, by definition, in an alien environment, where the customs, practices, and in many cases, the language are new to him. Often the immigrant's status as a newcomer slows his progress in the labor market. (On the other hand, immigrants tend to be self-selected, ambitious persons.)

The second set of constraints are laid on by employers who, perhaps motivated by xenophobia, may be reluctant to hire the new arrival, or to make full use of his training and experience. (Other employers, however, react differently, and seek out aliens either as *landsmen*, and thus familiar, or as eager and perhaps exploitable workers.)

The third set of constraints are those which are imbedded in federal and state law, which under many circumstances can limit a permanent resident alien's search for appropriate employment. Unfortunately, the cheerful American myth that resident aliens can do everything a citizen can, except vote and be elected to public office, is simply not true.

The Supreme Court, in a series of recent opinions (described more thoroughly in David Carliner's very useful *The Rights of Aliens**) in effect voted twice to restrict the rights of permanent resident aliens in the labor market, and voted once to expand those rights.

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*David Carliner, *The Rights of Aliens: The Basic ACLU Guide to an Alien's Rights* (New York: Avon Books, 1977).

On the issue of a long-standing Federal Government practice, essentially barring resident aliens from most Federal jobs, the Court ruled that such a decision, while constitutional, could not be made, as it had been, by the U.S. Civil Service Commission; it had to be made by the Congress or the President.* Subsequently, President Ford reaffirmed the previous Civil Service Commission position on the subject.

As far as private employment is concerned, the Court ruled in the Farah case** that it was lawful for an employer to discriminate against permanent resident aliens in favor of citizens. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, however, has interpreted that decision to mean that such discrimination is acceptable only when it is not a proxy for nation-of-origin discrimination; in the Farah case, all the workers involved, both the citizens and the aliens, were of Mexican heritage.

But what is acceptable for private employers and for the U.S. Government is not acceptable for states and for local government; in the Sugarman v. Dougall case,*** the Court ruled that the State of New York could not discriminate against permanent resident aliens in favor of citizens.

There is another body of law and regulation, at the state level, which persists as a barrier to appropriate employment for some permanent resident aliens, even though the Supreme Court has ruled against it. These are the stipulations, in many states' professional licensing regulations, which make it mandatory for a physician, or a mortician, a barber or a beautician to be a citizen before the individual can practice the trade or profession. Carliner contends that, although such stipulations would not hold up on court review, this is not generally known, and many aliens are prevented thereby from following the trade or profession for which they have been trained.

Immigrants not only receive relatively little protection against discrimination in the labor market, they are also unlikely to receive manpower training services, unless they arrived with one of the large groups of refugees for whom the government has provided extensive services, such as the Cubans and the Indochinese. Immigrants are not barred from manpower training and vocational education programs; that is not the point we are making. What we are arguing is that there are relatively few programs which are designed with their special needs in mind. (Since the Labor Department's reporting system for its local grantees is not structured to capture data on alien clients (or foreign born ones), there are, unfortunately, no statistics on the subject.)

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*Hampton v. Mow Sun Wong, 426 U.S. 88 (1976).

**Espinoza v. Farah Manufacturing Co., 414 U.S. 86 (1973).

***Sugarman v. Dougall, 413 U.S. 634 (1973).

These, then, are the immigration policies which facilitated the admission of the 1970 cohort of immigrants, some of the procedures that they completed in the immigration process, and some of the constraints they faced as they entered the labor market.

II. The Flows of Immigrants

The 1970 cohort of immigrants consisted of 373,326 individuals. The total for the year was fairly typical for a cohort of immigrants arriving under the provisions of the 1965 Amendments; during the eight years of full effectiveness of the Amendments for which we have data (July 1, 1968 through June 30, 1976), the cohorts gross mean was 383,350, and there was little variation from the mean year after year.*

It should be stressed that this is a gross measure of legal immigration; it is not a measure of the net arrivals of additional people in the United States. This is the case, because several movements of people across our borders are not covered by this measure; the most significant of these is the movement of illegal aliens into the nation. Since the number of apprehensions of illegal aliens has, in recent years, been running at more than twice the level of legal immigration, it is likely that this is a substantial movement. Two other, legal movements of persons are not included in the 373,326 figure noted above; these are the departures of U.S. citizens, which was estimated at 56,043 in 1970 by Finifter,** and the departures of permanent resident aliens, which Warren has estimated at an annual average of 110,000 during the 1960s.***

The arrival of about 400,000 legal immigrants annually in recent years indicates, as Figure 2 illustrates, that immigrants are coming to the country in larger numbers in the last eight years than they have since the 1920s. However, at the turn of the century, when we were a much less populous nation, we were admitting considerably larger numbers of immigrants in both absolute and relative terms.

The gross numbers of arriving immigrants is certain to increase in the years following 1976, without any further change in the immigration law. This is the case because of two decisions, one judicial and the other administrative, each of which will increase the number of immigrants by approximately 150,000. A Federal District Court judge has ruled that the Government acted improperly in issuing numerically controlled immigrant visas to Cuban refugees (who should have been granted visas outside the numerical ceilings); this practice adversely affected other Western Hemisphere immigrants who were told to wait in line until

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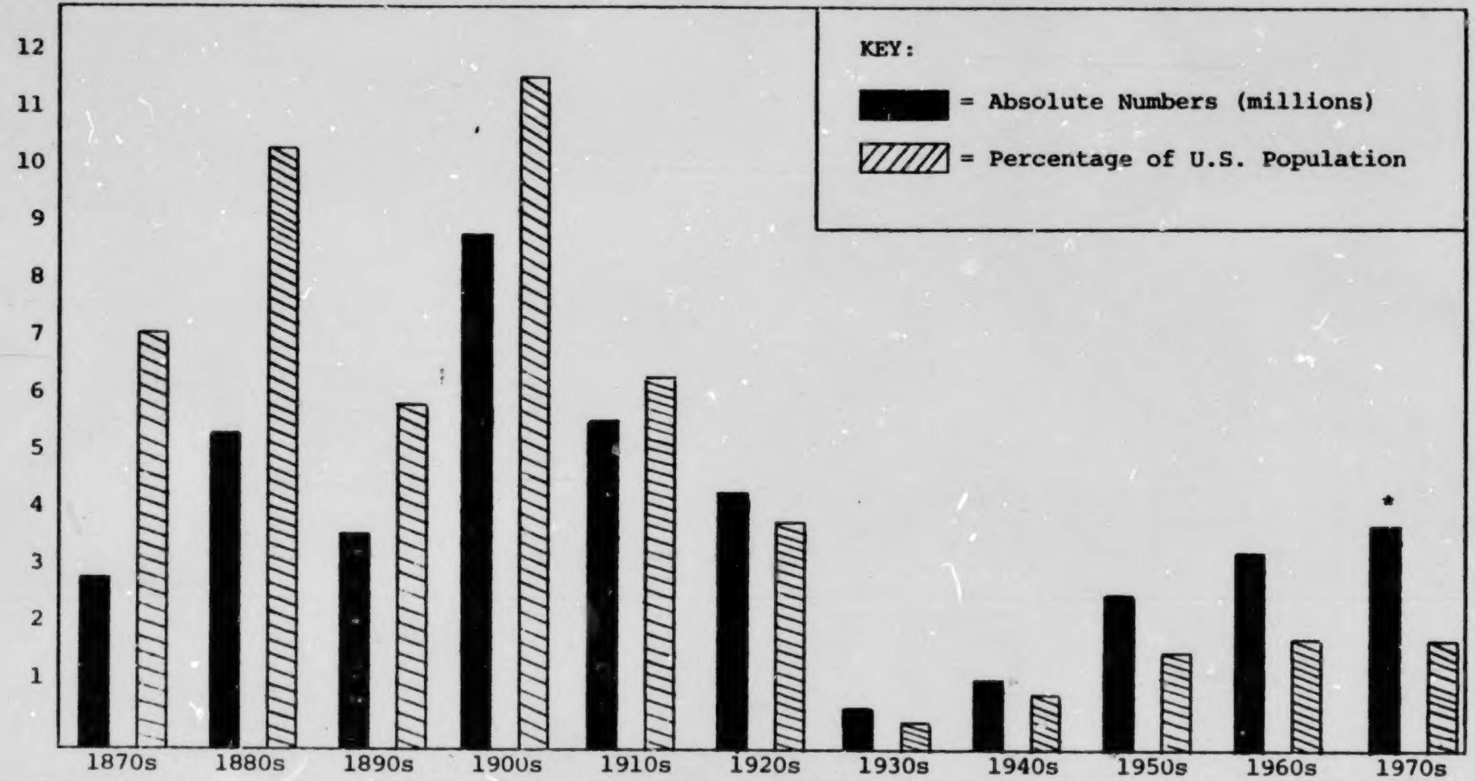
*Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report: Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1976, Table 1.

**Ada Finifter, "Emigration from the United States, An Exploratory Analysis," paper presented at the Conference on Public Support for the Political System at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, August 13-17, 1973.

***Robert Warren, "Recent Immigration and Current Data Collection," Monthly Labor Review, October 1977.

FIGURE 2

Immigration to the United States in Absolute Numbers, by Decade, and as Percent of U.S. Population at the Beginning of the Decade, 1870-1970



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*This projection of 3.9 million is based on the assumption that immigration will continue at about the same rate for the last half of the decade as it did in the first half, 1971-1975, which was 1,936,000.

Source: Immigration figures from INS Annual Report, 1975, Table 1; percentages computed from population figures derived from The World Almanac & Book of Facts, 1977.

visa numbers became available. The judge ordered the Government to issue immigrant visas to those who had previously been told to wait.*

The administrative decision, really a series of them, permitted the admission of Indochinese refugees following the end of the Vietnamese War; these admissions, which are outside the previously described numerical limits, will not be recorded in the formal statistics of INS until the refugees convert their status to that of immigrants, a process which will start two years after their arrival in this country.

Legal immigration will also increase, perhaps substantially, if the Administration's proposal to grant amnesty, or permanent resident alien status, to the more established of the illegal aliens is incorporated into the law; it is regarded as unlikely that these amnesty admissions would be made within the framework of the current numerical limits.

III. The Stock of the Foreign Born

While the numbers of arriving immigrants in the last decade (1968-1977) has been larger than in the previous four decades, and while in recent years the numbers of arriving illegal aliens has apparently been increasing as well, the size of the foreign born population has been decreasing relatively since 1910, and absolutely as well since 1930, as shown below:

Census	Number of Foreign Born	Percent of Total**
1910	13,516,000	14.6%
1920	13,921,000	13.2
1930	14,204,000	11.6
1940	11,595,000	8.8
1950	10,347,000	6.9
1960	9,738,000	5.4
1970	9,619,000	4.7

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*See Silva v. Levi, U.S.D.C., N.D. Ill., No. 76 C 4268, and for a commentary, see Maurice A. Roberts, ed. Interpreter Releases, Vol. 54, No. 14, April 12, 1977 (New York: American Council for Nationalities Service)

**Data for 1920-1970 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976, Table 40; data for 1910 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the U.S., series A29-42 and A105-118.

The reason for this anomaly relates partly to the advanced age, in recent decades, and the consequent high death rates of the large numbers of immigrants who arrived at the turn of the century, partly to some emigration of immigrants (a portion of whom retire to their homelands), and partly because of the timing of the measures described above.* The post-1965 Amendments increase in legal immigration made only a minimal impact on the 1970 census, as the Amendments had been in full effect for only 21 months when the 1970 enumeration was taken (on April 1, 1970); further, most of the increase in illegal immigration apparently has taken place since the census was conducted.

It will be interesting to see whether or not the 50-year trend, of a steadily decreasing foreign-born stock, will continue when the results of the 1980 census are tabulated; I suspect that the trend will be reversed.

To summarize this chapter, we find that the nation's immigration policies are primarily based on non-labor market considerations and, as a result, only a minority of immigrants are screened with labor market factors in mind; these are the potential labor certification beneficiaries. Most immigrants are admitted because they are a relative of a U.S. resident.

Annual admissions of immigrants have been running just below the 400,000 level in recent years, a higher rate than in the previous four decades, but considerably lower, both absolutely and proportionally, than the rate of immigrant acceptance at the turn of the century. The 400,000 figure, however, is likely to be increased, at least temporarily, in the next few years because of refugee admissions and (if enacted) amnesty for some portion of the illegal alien population.

The increases in levels of legal immigration made possible by the 1965 Amendments have not yet reversed the long-term declining trend of the foreign born population, as reflected in the decennial censuses.

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*Underenumeration, particularly of the illegal immigrants, would be another factor.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

CHAPTER TWO

An individual worker's experiences in the labor market are influenced by a wide variety of factors, some internal to the worker, many external; some of the most important individual factors (such as ambition and one's ability to adjust in the working environment) cannot be measured directly with any degree of success; but there are other factors known to influence labor market behavior on which data are available for arriving immigrants. Preparatory to examining the labor market experiences of the cohort of 1970, it is useful to draw a profile of that group of immigrants in terms of seven variables:

- age (upon arrival)
- sex
- marital status (upon arrival)
- nation of birth
- planned destination within the U.S.
- immigration classification, and
- occupation (as stated on the visa application)

In addition, we are interested in the variable of education, although data on this subject are available only for earlier groups of immigrants, through the decennial censuses.

We will examine, for each of the variables noted above (save education), the profile of the 1970 cohort of immigrants and, where pertinent, compare the cohort's characteristics with those of four other populations:

- the resident population of the United States in 1970;

- the foreign-born population, which was comprised principally of earlier groups of immigrants (those who arrived before the 1965 Amendments went into effect);

- other recent cohorts of immigrants (those of fiscal years 1969, and 1971 through 1976); and

- illegal aliens.

While some statistical material is presented within this chapter, most of the detailed data regarding immigrants arriving in the years of interest can be found in Appendix B.

Age: The 1970 cohort of immigrants was youthful (median age at arrival, 24.3 years) and as such tended (slightly) to decrease the median age of the U.S. population; the median age of recent immigrant cohorts varied little from the 1970 figure, and stayed consistently under the median for the U.S. population as a whole, which was 28.0 in 1970 and 28.8 in 1975. The arriving 1970 immigrants were, understandably, considerably younger than the stock of the foreign born, whose median age that year was 52.0 years.*

While a predominance of young adults characterized the earlier cohorts of immigrants and apparently the current group of illegal aliens, the 1970 cohort of immigrants included a substantial number of family members (with children represented more generously than older persons). The tendency of recent immigrant cohorts to approach the U.S. norm, in terms of age distribution, is shown in Table 1; although young adults are more heavily represented in the 1970 cohort than in the resident population, the difference is less dramatic than it was in 1910.

Illegal immigrants of today, like the legal ones of 1910, appear to be concentrated in the young adult years, with approximately 90% of apprehended illegals falling in the 18-44 age range; studies on this subject tend to agree; for example, four recent studies of apprehended illegal aliens from Mexico indicated that the mean ages of the members of the study group were, respectively, 27.5, 27.5, 27.6, and 28.9 years of age.**

Sex: Compared to the U.S. resident population in 1970, which consisted of 948 men for every 1,000 women,*** the immigrant cohort of 1970 had a larger proportion of women; this was a reversal of the situation in earlier years, when predominantly male cohorts of immigrants came to a nation which had a few more

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*Sources for most statistics used in this chapter can be found in Appendix B; when they are derived from other sources, they will be noted. In this case, it is U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Report PC(2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 10. Footnote references to this publication will hereafter be cited Census, PC(2)-1A.

**These studies were: Immigration and Naturalization Service, Illegal Alien Study, Part 1: Fraudulent Entrants Study, September 1976, p. viii; Julian Samora, Los Mojados: The Wetback Story (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971), p. 90; North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, p. 69; and Government of Mexico, Resultados de la Encuesta Realizada por la Comision Intersecretarial para el Estudio del Problema de la Emigracion Subrepticia de Trabajadores Mexicanos a E.U.A., 1972.

***U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, Table 26.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Age of Immigrant Cohorts and Total U.S. Population, 1910 and 1970

(as percents)

Age Group	1910 Immigrant Cohort	1910 U.S. Population	1970 Immigrant Cohort	1970 U.S. Population
Total: Number	1,041,570	91,972,266	373,326	203,210,000
Percent	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.0
Under 15 years*	11.6	32.1	26.4	28.6
15-44 years*	83.4	48.9	61.1	41.0
45 years and over	5.1	18.9	12.6	30.4

*The age groups for the 1910 cohort of immigrants varied slightly; they were under 14 and 14-44.

Source: Data for 1910 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series A119-134 and C138-142; data for 1970 immigrants from INS Annual Report, 1970, Table 10, and for the 1970 population from Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, Table 191.

men than women. (An extreme example of this occurred in 1824, when there were 4,025 male immigrants to 1,000 female ones, at a time when the most recent census (of 1820) reflected a resident population ratio of 1,032 men to every 1,000 women.)* As recently as 1910, there were more than 2,400 male immigrants arriving for every 1,000 female ones. By the thirties, the majority of immigrants were women, and this pattern has persisted since that time.**

A major reason for the predominance of female immigrants relates to a single clause in the immigration law, which, understandably, permits U.S. citizens who marry aliens to immigrate these alien spouses; in the years of concern, 1969-1976, the mean number of men admitted through this provision was 18,409, while the mean for women was approximately twice as large, 36,371. An examination of Appendix B on this point, however, shows that the predominance of women has been declining in this category; there were almost three times as many women as men in this category in 1969, but by 1976 the ratio was down to about three to two. One could speculate that changing mores now allow U.S. citizen women the freedom that U.S. citizen men have long had, that is, to go abroad and find a suitable spouse and bring that person back to America; one could also speculate that a portion of these marriages involved no foreign travel at all, but were between citizen women and alien males lacking permanent resident status (nonimmigrants and illegals).

This second line of speculation is supported by what little information we have on the male-female mix among illegal aliens; men appear to be in a substantial majority in that population. Certainly, all the survey data on ever-apprehended illegal aliens (those who have been arrested at least once by INS) indicate a high incidence of males. What is not clear are the relative sizes of the two groups of illegal aliens, i.e., the ever-apprehended as opposed to the never-apprehended ones; but it appears likely that the latter group contains a larger percentage of women than the former.

Marital Status: At the turn of the century, when immigrant cohorts were young and predominantly male, immigrants were much more likely to be single than the general population. In 1920, when sound data on the subject for an immigrant cohort became available, this was still the case. The approach to the American norm, which we have reported in terms of immigrant age groupings and sex ratios, can also be seen when the marital status of immigrants and the resident population is compared, as it is in Table 2 for the years 1920 and 1970.

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*Harry Jones, Migration and Business Cycles (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 39.

**For a more extended treatment of this subject, see North and Weissert, Immigrants and the American Labor Market, pp 25-33.

TABLE 2

Distribution of Marital Status of Adult Immigrant Cohorts and the General Population,* 1920 and 1970

(as percents)

Year	Categories	Single	Married	Other**
1920	Males - Immigrants	57.5	40.6	2.0
	- Population	31.8	61.3	6.8
	Females - Immigrants	44.2	46.9	8.8
	Population	24.1	60.4	15.4
1970	Males - Immigrants	29.0	69.3	1.6
	Population	19.1	75.0	5.9
	Females - Immigrants	19.8	74.6	5.4
	Population	13.7	68.5	17.8

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*Over 18 years of age for 1970, over 14 years of age for 1920.

**widowed, separated, divorced.

Source: Adapted from David S. North and William G. Weissert *Immigrants and the American Labor Market* (Washington, D.C.: Trans-Century Corporation, 1973), Table XV.

The percentage of married immigrants rose for the cohorts which followed that of 1970, as Appendix B indicates. In 1970 69.3% of the immigrant males 18 and older were married; by 1976 the percentage had increased to 73.5%. Among the female immigrants, the percentage increased slightly from 74.6% in 1970 to 76.4% in 1976. The immigrant cohorts since 1973 have shown higher incidences of marriage than the adult population as a whole, a reversal of the turn of the century situation; this is largely because of a sharply lower incidence of separation and divorce among the immigrants than among the balance of the population.

One of the reasons for the trend for more married immigrants may well be built into the immigration law itself; being married to a U.S. citizen or a permanent resident alien is one of the characteristics for which one is rewarded with an immigrant's visa under the current law (just as being Irish or Swedish was rewarded under the prior country-of-origin law). Table 3 indicates that while the number of marriages in the U.S. has been quite steady in recent years, at a little above the 2,100,000 level, the number of marriages-which-create-immigrants has increased sharply, up more than 50% between 1969 and 1976, the last year for which complete data are available. (Such marriages are not counted as such, of course; we combined data on visas issued to spouses of permanent resident aliens and admissions data on U.S. citizens' spouses to arrive at the estimates used in Table 3.)

Fertility is a related variable which affects family size and hence, income, the labor force participation rate of females, the earnings rate of employed females, and the second generation effects of immigration. Data on fertility are unavailable for immigrant cohorts but available from the Census on the foreign born.

The fertility of foreign born females 25-44 is 2.14 children ever born per female versus 2.57 for native U.S. females. It is similarly lower for the 45-64 age group. Fertility varies with nationality for 25-44 year old females, ranging from 1.80 for Japan to 3.44 for Mexicans. The latter is in excess of the 2.75 rate for native persons of Spanish language.

Fertility rates for all foreign born women 35-44 are lowest (2.21) for the 1960-64 immigrants, and are 2.26 for the 1965-70 wave, having declined significantly from those waves prior to 1960. For Mexican women 35-44, the rate is 4.0 both for the 65-70 and the 60-64 waves. These are very high rates and account for an important part of the high poverty rates of Mexican immigrants.*

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*Census, PC(2)-1A, Tables 2, 3, and 17.

TABLE 3

Incidence of Immigrant-Creating Marriages as Compared to all U.S. Marriages, 1969-76

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
(A) Admissions of Spouses of U.S. Citizens	39,273	51,895	54,300	58,297	67,288	67,563	55,620	60,090
(B) Visas Issued to Spouses of Permanent Resident Aliens	9,656	10,562	12,057	12,772	13,472	14,773	14,419	14,574
Total of Above	48,929	62,457	66,357	71,069	80,760	82,336	70,039	74,664
Percentage Change, 1969-1976								+52.6
(C) Total U.S. Marriages (000s)	2,145	2,159	2,190	2,282	2,284	2,230	2,126	2,133
Percentage Change 1969-1976								-0.6

Source: Line (A) is from INS Annual Reports, Table 4; line (B) is from Report of the Visa Office, Table II; and line (C) is from Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1976, Table 68 for 1969-75, and for 1976 from the National Center for Health Statistics (by phone).

Note: Data on U.S. marriages are for calendar years, while data on immigrants are for fiscal years.

Predictably, when illegal aliens are compared to either legal immigrants, or to the U.S. population as a whole, they show a much lower incidence of marriages; for example, 54.8% of the 25-34 year olds in the North-Houstoun study group (90% of whom were male) said that they were married, while 80.3% of the comparably aged male group in the resident population are married.*

Nation of Birth: Table 4 indicates that there has been a substantial change in the source of U.S. immigrants over the past eighty years, with the flows from Europe falling sharply, and those from Asia and the Americas increasing correspondingly. The number arriving from Northern and Western Europe, for example, in 1970 was less than one tenth what it had been in 1890. Other patterns of note are the substantial decreases in immigration from Canada, which have been more than compensated for by substantial increases from Mexico and from the balance of the Western Hemisphere. Immigration from Africa and from Oceania has increased over the years, but remains a minor factor.

Table 4 shows the changing regions of origin of U.S. immigrants over a period of 80 years, in which there were numerous (and substantial) changes in immigration laws, as well as wars, revolutions and depressions; the more immediate trends in the source of immigrants in the eight years under scrutiny here (and during a period when the immigration law remained virtually unchanged) is shown in Appendix B.

During these eight years the longterm trends noted above continued; immigration from Europe, which comprised about a third of all immigration in 1969, fell to about a fifth by 1976. Canadian immigration, down to about 18,000 in 1969, fell to below 8,000 in 1976. Immigration from Mexico rose from 1969 to 1974, when it reached a peak of 71,586 and then slipped off slightly, while immigration from the balance of the Western Hemisphere increased from about 90,000 in 1969 to about 100,000 in 1976. The most dramatic single change related to Asia; the number of immigrants from that continent almost doubled in the eight year span, going from a little more than 75,000 in 1969 to a little less than 150,000 in 1976. The labor market implications of these region of origin shifts will be examined subsequently.

State of Destination: The 1970 cohort of immigrants, like those before and after them, clustered geographically within the United States; 78.9% of the members of this cohort reported that they were going to settle in 10 states of the nation, which was home, according to the 1970 Census, to only 49.9% of the nation's population. The states on the cohort's list were, in decending order, New York, California, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas, Massachusetts, Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and

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*North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, pp. 76-77.

TABLE 4

Region of Birth of Selected Cohorts of Immigrants, 1890-1975

(as absolute numbers and percent of column total)

	QUALITATIVE SCREENING		ETHNIC SCREENING			FAMILIAL SCREENING	
Region of Origin	**1890**	**1910**	**1930**	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1975**
Northern & Western Europe	286,124 (62.8%)	202,198 (19.4%)	97,118 (40.2%)	163,707 (65.7%)	84,552 (31.9%)	34,387 (9.2%)	22,058 (5.7%)
Southern & Eastern Europe	159,556 (35.0%)	724,093 (69.5%)	50,320 (20.8%)	35,408 (14.2%)	55,118 (20.8%)	81,652 (21.9%)	51,938 (13.4%)
Asia	4,448 (1.0%)	23,533 (2.3%)	4,535 (1.9%)	4,508 (1.8%)	23,864 (9.0%)	94,883 (25.4%)	132,469 (34.3%)
Africa	112 *	1,072 (0.1%)	572 (0.2%)	849 (0.3%)	2,526 (1.0%)	8,115 (2.2%)	6,729 (1.7%)
Oceania**	1,167 (0.3%)	1,097 (0.1%)	1,051 (0.4%)	517 (0.2%)	1,179 (0.4%)	3,198 (0.9%)	3,347 (0.9%)
Mexico	not recorded	18,691 (1.8%)	12,703 (5.3%)	6,744 (2.7%)	32,684 (12.3%)	44,469 (11.9%)	62,205 (16.1%)
Canada	183 *	56,555 (5.4%)	65,254 (27.0%)	21,885 (8.8%)	30,990 (11.7%)	13,804 (3.7%)	7,308 (1.9%)
Other Western Hemisphere	3,650 (0.8%)	14,288 (1.4%)	10,147 (4.2%)	15,562 (6.2%)	34,449 (13.0%)	92,814 (24.9%)	100,139 (25.9%)
Other Countries	62 *	43 *	0	7 *	36 *	4 *	1 *
TOTAL	455,302 (99.9%)	1,041,570 (100.0%)	241,700 (100.0%)	249,187 (99.9%)	265,398 (100.1%)	373,326 (100.1%)	386,194 (99.9%)

Source: Taken from David S. North and Allen LeBel, Manpower Policy and Immigration Policy in the U.S.: An Analysis of a Nonrelationship, (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Manpower Policy, forthcoming), Exhibit VI, which was derived from, for 1890-1950, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series C, 88-114; 1960-1975 data from INS Annual Reports, 1960, 1970, and 1975, Table 14.

**Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific islands.

Hawaii.* Similarly, the members of the 1970 cohort were more likely to live in major cities than Americans, generally; 37.5% of the cohort elected to live in ten cities, which in 1970 had been the residence of only 9.8% of the nation's population. Thus newly arriving immigrants tend to play a more important role as workers and as consumers in some states than others and in the big cities of the nation, as opposed to suburban and rural areas.

While the clustering of immigrants has decreased a bit over time--the ten most popular states in the 1899-1910 period drew 83.5% of immigrants,** and New York alone had 31.4% of them, compared to the 1970 figures of 78.9% and 26.2%, respectively--the locus has changed considerably. Sunbelt states such as Florida, Texas, and Hawaii have attracted increasing numbers of immigrants; consequently, the flows, in terms of percentages, have slacked off in the northeastern quadrant of the nation.

The 1970 cohort's destinations were fairly close to those of the other recent cohorts, as Appendix B shows; in 1970, New York was still the most favored state for immigrants, but by 1976 that distinction had been won by California.

Less is known about the geographic location of illegal aliens than is known about their demographic characteristics; one can speculate, however, that they probably cluster where recent legal immigrants from the same nations cluster. Given the nearness of the U.S.-Mexican border, on one hand, and the recent trends toward sunbelt settlement by legal immigrants, on the other, one would expect something of a tilt to the South and West, as well as a continuing interest in urban areas in the North and the Middle West.

Classes of Immigrants: The immigration law is a complex instrument, said to be the most complicated piece of American legislation outside the Internal Revenue Code; immigrants are admitted to the nation if (assuming interest on their part and successful completion of the application process) they are defined as admissible under one of the segments of the law. The 1970 INS Annual Report, which presented voluminous data on the cohort of that year, indicated (in Table 4) 26 separate and distinct provisions of the law which had been used that year to facilitate immigrant admissions. Some of these provisions were virtually inactive, thus only two admissions were recorded as those of "foreign government officials adjusted under Section 13 of the Act of September 11, 1957," while more than 100,000 were admitted as "Natives of the Western Hemisphere, their spouses and children (subject to Western Hemisphere numerical limitations)" a category which has many subcategories (such as labor certification beneficiaries, their relatives, relatives of U.S. citizens, and relatives of permanent resident aliens). For a full listing of all the provisions of the law, and the number of immigrants whose admission was facilitated by those provisions, during the eight recent years of interest, see Appendix B.

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*See Appendix B for individual state percentages.

**United States Immigration Commission, Abstracts of the Reports of the Immigration Commission, Statistical Review of Immigration (Washington, D.C., 1911), p. 105.

Clearly, the various provisions of the law might be a useful variable to study as one analyzes the results of immigration and its impact on the labor market. It was equally evident that simply using the 26 provisions as an analytical framework would not be practical; not only would there be too many cells, but some cells (such as the large one for the Western Hemisphere) contain a variety of important subcells, and others (such as first preference, unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) might not be significantly different in the labor market from others (such as fourth preference, married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens). Another classification system was needed, and, to make things a little more complex, we devised two of them, each with a different objective, over the years.

The first system, which we call immigration categories, was used in Immigrants and the American Labor Market; seven classes are defined (and a small miscellany of others who did not fit the system were dropped). The seven categories of the 1970 cohort, for which we have extensive earnings data, are:

Immigration Category	Description
EH Workers	Labor certification beneficiaries from the Eastern Hemisphere, in third, sixth and nonpreference.
EH Workers' Relatives	Spouses and children of EH Workers.
EH Relatives	First, second, fourth, and fifth primary preference persons (i.e., the alien with an immigrant relative in the U.S.)
EH Relatives' Relatives	Spouses and children of EH Relatives.
WH Workers	Labor certification beneficiaries from the Western Hemisphere.
WH Relatives	All other Western Hemisphere immigrants admitted under the numerical limits.
U.S. Relatives	Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (from both hemispheres).

There are two deficiencies in this system, which limit its utility. In the first place, the system was designed to categorize 5,000 immigrants (in the 1970 cohort) for whom we had completed (and utilized) visa applications; we could, and did, make distinctions (say between a primary fifth preference immigrant, the one with the brother in the U.S., and the secondary fifth preference immigrant, the child of the alien with the brother in the U.S.), which are not reflected in the INS statistical system; therefore comparisons must be made overtime through a technique that includes some estimations. The second problem was that, for reasons covered more thoroughly in Appendix A, the data gathering system used in selecting the 5,000 members of the cohort sample, systematically excluded refugees, who would have made a highly logical eighth category. Despite these difficulties, the immigrant category system was built into our analytical framework and was used in connection with the Social Security Administration's 1970-1975 taxable earnings data on the 1970 cohort of immigrants. (See Chapter 4)

An analysis of the changing composition of the cohorts over the years in terms of immigration categories (as shown in Appendix B) indicates that there were decreases in the numbers of workers, particularly those from the Western Hemisphere, a sharp increase in U.S. citizen relatives, a slight decline in the other four relative categories, and an increase in the other category, caused by slightly larger groups of refugee admissions in the later years.

Subsequently, we developed a simpler analytical framework,* which divided immigrants into two broad categories, those who were admitted to the nation as relatives of U.S. residents, through the process of familial screening, as opposed to those admitted because their presence was judged to meet some public need, i.e., as a result of societal screening. In general terms, familial screening facilitates the admission of relatives of both U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens, while societal screening facilitates the admission of labor certification beneficiaries (and their families), refugees, and members of several smaller subclasses (such as former employees of U.S. missions overseas). This framework is based on the published statistics of INS (and certain ancillary estimation techniques); the increasing incidence of familial screening, in both percentage and absolute terms, is shown in Appendix B.**

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*See Appendix A for methodology.

**A rough relationship can be established between the two classification schemes outlined above; familial screening covers the categories EH Relatives, EH Relatives' Relatives, U.S. Relatives, and virtually all of WH Relatives (save for a few labor certification beneficiaries dependents who are in this category); societal screening covers both EH and WH Workers, and EH Workers' Relatives.

One of the principal reasons why immigrants admitted through the societal screening process declined in the period studied, from more than 37% to less than 26%, is because of the operations of the labor certification program. With spreading unemployment, it became more difficult for would-be employers to convince the Labor Department that resident workers were not able and available for work, a necessary pre-condition for the issuance of a labor certification for the employment of an alien. Given the U.S. immigration system, this did not mean that we secured fewer immigrants; it just meant that we welcomed different ones, typically family members not subject to the labor certification process. The decline in utilization of labor certifications, from 59,597 in 1969 to 25,474 in 1976, is spelled out in Appendix B. (The labor market implications of this downward trend will be discussed subsequently.)

Stated Occupation: When potential immigrants file their visa applications, they complete this sentence, "My present calling or occupation is: ." Upon admission to the United States, data on the visa applications are collected and published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Since the applicant, by definition, is seeking a good from the U.S. Government, there may be some tendency to misstate one's occupation in order to secure the visa. For example, a short-order cook who has secured a labor certification as a domestic servant might be tempted to note that calling, not her current job, on the form. Despite these problems, however, it is a source of occupational data on each year's arriving immigrants.*

When the 1970 cohort completed their forms, almost half of them reported that they were either professionals, or craftsworkers and foremen, with the percentages being 29.4% and 17.4%, respectively. There were also large numbers of operatives, 11.7% and sales and clerical workers, 10.5%. The balance, of 31.0%, were scattered through six other categories. (As we will note subsequently, this distribution for the 1970 cohort changed with the passage of time.)

In comparison with U.S. employed persons in 1970, the workers in the immigrant cohort had more than twice as many professionals (29.4% vs. 14.2%) and less than half as many other white collar workers (14.2% vs. 34.1%). The immigrants also reported larger percentages of craftsworkers, laborers, farmers and farmworkers, and particularly, domestic servants, than the population as a whole, but fewer operatives and non-household service workers. The comparison with the foreign born population (as reported in the 1970 Census) was similar; in fact, the occupation group profile of the foreign born was much more like that of the resident population than it was of the new immigrants.

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*See statement of Roy S. Bryce-LaPorte, Research Sociologist, Smithsonian Institution in Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs: United States Caribbean Policy, Part I, September 19 and 21, 1973, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. House of Representatives), p. 75.

When comparisons are made with earlier cohorts of immigrants, it is clear that the occupational composition of the current generation of immigrants is drastically different than that at the turn of the century, when only a handful of immigrants were in the skilled trades and in the professions. For example, in 1910, 1.2% of the immigrants were professional and technical workers, while 37.0% were farm laborers, and 27.7% were non-farm laborers.* Similarly, the skill levels of the legal immigrants of today are remarkably different from those of the illegal immigrants of today, a group whose home-country occupation profile closely resembles that of earlier waves of legal immigrants.**

While the differences between the occupation groups reported by the population as a whole and those reported by the 1970 cohort are more pronounced than intercohort differences, the latter are substantial enough to warrant comment. The percentage of reported professionals increased from the 1970 level in the years that followed, reaching a high of 31.9% in 1972, before declining to below the 1970 level in 1976. A similar pattern was followed in the nonfarm laborer category.

In the cohorts that followed 1970, there were larger percentages of managers, nonhousehold service workers, and operatives, and declines among the household workers, craftsworkers and farmers, while farmworkers, sales and clerical workers held steady. The decline among the household servants probably reflected the Labor Department's increasing reluctance to issue labor certification for such jobs.

The percentages noted above are of those immigrants with stated occupations; the percentage of immigrants with stated occupations, however, has been declining in recent years, from 42.1% of all immigrants in 1970 to 38.8% in 1976.

Years of Education: Unfortunately data are not available on the years of education completed for the 1970 cohort or any other cohort of arriving immigrants; what are available, however, are census data which provides us with information on the extent of education reported by the foreign born (most of whom were presumably immigrants), by the native born of foreign or mixed parentage (i.e., the second generation), and by native born of native parentage. These data, while useful, reflect the educational attainments of a previous generation of immigrants. Data presented on the 25-44 year olds among the foreign born, for example, relate to persons who arrived in the U.S. between the years 1924 and 1969; data on older persons reflect an even longer sweep into the past.

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*Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series C-120-137.

**North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, pp. 105-112.

Examining the data on 25-44 year old males, one finds that for the three classes (foreign born, native born of foreign or mixed parentage, and native born of native parentage), they had a median years of schooling in the range of 12.2 to 12.6.* Years of school for females generally were reported as a few months lower, on average, and older persons in all three groups reported less education than those 25-44.

These averages, however, hide a striking difference between the foreign born and the natives, the bimodal, age-specific educational distribution curve of immigrants; there is a far higher concentration of foreign born with extremely low levels of education than natives (29% with 8 grades or less completed vs. 12% for natives, in the 25-44 age group), while there is also a higher concentration of foreign born than native born with 4 or more years of college (24% vs. 18%) for 25-44 year old males.

Among the foreign born, further, there are remarkable differences in educational attainments, by country of origin, with those from Japan reporting 16 years or more, from China and "all other," (15), Austria (14), Sweden, Netherlands, France and Lithuania (13), and with most other enumerated nations falling in the 12 years or more class, which is this nation's norm.** Standing out at the very bottom of the list, however, are those born in Mexico, who reported a median educational level of six years. Non-Mexican Western Hemisphere immigrants (Cuba, Other Caribbean, Other Central and South America, and Canada) were all placed in the same 12-13 range with the U.S. averages.

The available data on educational levels of illegals are largely confined to a survey of apprehended Mexican nationals, but the findings tend to be consistent. The 1972 study by the Mexican Government found that 23% of the respondents had not been to school at all, and only 23% had finished as many as six years of school (the cutoff point for Mexican grammar schools); Samora's survey, taken earlier, reported that 28% of the respondents had no contact with any school, and that more than 90% had completed six or fewer grades; the mean level of education for the North-Houstoun Mexican respondents was 4.9 years, as compared to 8.7 years for those from elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere, and 11.9 years for those from the Eastern Hemisphere.*

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*Census, PC(2)-1A, Tables 4 and 5.

**Ibid., Table 12.

Conclusions: When examined along the variables of age, sex, and marital status, the 1970 cohort of immigrants (and all post-1965 Amendments cohorts) appear to resemble the population of the United States generally; they differ from both the immigrants of early in this century, and from the apprehended illegal aliens of today, two groups which have a substantial resemblance to each other, in that those groups appear to be dominated by young male adults, who reported a sharply lower incidence of marriage than did their peers in this country. We suspect that, given the high incidence of professionals among the 1970 cohort of immigrants, the educational level of these immigrants (like those enumerated by the 1970 census) will be more like those of the U.S. population generally, than those of the illegal immigrants of today, or the legal ones of the early decades of this century.

It is possible to make firmer judgments, than those noted above, and more of them about the extent to which the 1970 cohort reflects the characteristics of all post-1965 Amendments cohorts of immigrants. The mean age of the 1970 cohort was almost precisely that of the other seven cohorts; the 1970 cohort had a few more males in it than the other recent cohorts, and slightly fewer marriages than the cohorts which followed. The cohort of 1970 clustered in selected states and major cities, as the other cohorts did, but with less concentration in the sunbelt states than the cohorts which followed.

On the other hand, the 1970 cohort of immigrants had a substantially larger percentage of labor certification beneficiaries (14.9% compared to 6.4% in 1976) than more recent cohorts; and compared to the most recent ones, the 1970 cohort had considerably fewer Asians and considerably more immigrants from Canada and from Europe. The occupation group profile of the 1970 cohort was roughly comparable to the profile for other recent cohorts.

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*Mexican Government, Resultados de la Encuesta; Samora, Los Mojados; and North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, p. 75.

The 1970 cohort of immigrants is a useful group to study, not because their characteristics will be mirrored year-after-year in the future, but because they represent one of several groups of immigrants whose admissions were governed by the explicit provisions of the 1965 Amendments. A major portion of the immigrants admitted during most of the previous half century were filtered through the country-of-origin selection process; the characteristics of immigrants admitted in the next few years will be heavily affected by decisions made in the past about refugees, and those made in the future about illegal aliens. The 1970 cohort, in a sense, was one that we welcomed during a transitional period--after we had shaken off the ethnocentric policies of the past and before we faced up to the questions raised by the illegal aliens of the present and the future.

The 1970 cohort, to oversimplify, was youthful, there were a few more women than men, and close to three quarters of those over 18 were married. Setting aside a small band of Canadian immigrants, roughly a third were from Europe, a third from Asia and Africa, and another third from other parts of the Americas. They clustered geographically in the U.S., more than three quarters going to ten states, and more than a third to ten specific cities (not SMSAs). The majority were admitted as relatives of U.S. residents, the minority as needed workers (and their relatives), and a few as refugees. On their arrival, they reported an occupation group profile quite different than that of the resident population, with disproportionate numbers of professionals, at one end of the spectrum, and household and farmworkers at the other. Given the large number with professional backgrounds, it is likely that the median years of education for this group, as with other recent immigrants, was roughly equivalent to that of the U.S. population generally.

CHAPTER THREE:

BACKGROUND: THE LABOR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF PRE-1970 IMMIGRANTS

CHAPTER THREE

The 1970 cohort of immigrants arrived in the United States as the Census Bureau was collecting data on, among other things, the labor market experiences of previous groups of immigrants (and a few other foreign born as well). Subsequently, the Census Bureau published data on the following variables:*

- Employment Status, as of the enumeration (April 1, 1970), i.e., participation or non-participation in the civilian labor force.
- Employment or Unemployment, for those within the civilian labor force on that date;
- Occupation Group (twelve groups) on that date, for those who were employed;
- Class of Worker (private wage and salary, government, self-employed, and unpaid family workers) for those employed; and
- Income in 1969 for families and unrelated individuals.

This chapter will summarize these data and examine census and INS data regarding the extent to which the growth of the labor force can be attributed to immigration.

Three observations should be kept in mind as these data are described. First, like all Census data, this is a cross-sectional profile of the population of interest at a specific point in time; as suggested earlier, most of the foreign born persons enumerated in that Census (perhaps 94-95% of them) had been admitted to the U.S. before the 1965 Amendments went into full effect.

Second, the median age of the foreign born population enumerated by the Census was considerably older than that of both the total U.S. population at the time of the enumeration and that of the arriving cohort of immigrants, 52.0 years, as compared to 28.1 years and 24.3 years, respectively; some of the foreign born workers had been in the U.S. labor market for more than half a century at the time. Given this remarkable difference in age structure, it is important to utilize age-specific data whenever possible.

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*Census, PC(2)-1A.

The third consideration is the general difficulty that the Census has in counting low income persons, which is usually discussed in terms of an undercount of (particularly young male) blacks and Hispanics; the Census Bureau, for perhaps similar reasons of incomplete communication with their target population, apparently has similar problems with the enumeration of the foreign born, particularly of those born in Mexico. A comparison made elsewhere,* between data gathered through the annual registration of aliens and Census data, showed that some 4,247,000 aliens filed alien address cards (Form I-53) with the Immigration Service in January, 1970, while the Census, a few months later, enumerated only 3,542,000 non-naturalized foreign born persons; the two series are not perfectly compatible, but it is interesting that the Census found only 83% as many aliens as INS did. The discrepancy between the numbers of Mexico-born aliens was even more pronounced, with INS reporting a quarter of a million more of them than the Census, 734,000 compared to 483,000; in percentage terms, that is an enumeration of 66%. Given the low labor force participation rates of Mexico-born women, the higher unemployment rates and low incomes of Mexican immigrants of both sexes, compared to other immigrants, the underenumeration of these aliens undoubtedly creates a rosier picture of the experiences of all immigrants in the labor market than is justified.

Nonetheless, the more than 500-page Census publication, National Origin and Language (PC(2)-1A), contains a wealth of information on the enumerated foreign born worker; the cross tabulations dealing directly with labor market variables are shown in Table 5.

The age groupings used in that publication are: 16-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65-74, and 75 plus. The years of migration are five year intervals from 1965-1969 back to 1945-1949, then 1934-44, 1925-34, and before 1925. There are 22 selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and the four census regions, Northeast, South, North Central, and West.

The list of 25 nations used by the Census in 1970 can best be described as quaint. There were separate listings for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, three nations which collectively in 1970 produced less than one half of one percent of the immi-

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*For a discussion and comparison, see Immigration and Naturalization Service, Illegal Alien Study Design, Vol. I, Final Report, pp. 67-69, which in turn was based on INS Annual Report, 1970, Table 34, and Census, PC(2)-1A, Table 17.

TABLE 5

Labor Market Data Published on the Foreign Born, 1970 Census

	CROSS TABULATIONS PUBLISHED				
LABOR MARKET VARIABLE	Age Grouping	Year of Migration	National Origin	SMSA	U.S. Region
Employment Status (by sex)	by region	by national origin	by age grouping by SMSA by year of migration	by national origin	by age grouping
Unemployment (by sex)	as above	as above	as above	as above	as above
Occupation (by sex)	"	"	"	"	"
Class of Worker (by sex)	"	"	"	"	"
Income (for families and unrelated individuals)	"	"	"	"	"

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 7, 9, 13, 14, 16, and 18.

grant cohort; also for Lithuania, a nation which disappeared 30 years earlier, a fact which is reflected in INS reports, but not those of the Visa Office. On the other hand, there were no separate listings for five of the twelve nations which were the source of more than 10,000 immigrants in 1970: Philippines, the second largest source nation that year, Jamaica, Portugal, Dominican Republic, and India.

Employment Status: The labor force participation rate of the foreign born appears, at first blush (see Table 6) to be less than that of native born Americans, for both males and females, but when age is held constant, the difference all but disappears. The lower rate for foreign born relates primarily to the median age of that population.

The overall foreign born labor force participation rate masks wide variations in the rates among foreign born women, and less drastic ones among men. These rates are shown for the 25-44 year old population for the previously described list of nations in Table 7. The rates among women range from highs of 68.5% for Other West Indies (mostly Jamaica and Dominican Republic), of 59.8% for Cuba, and 54.6% for Other Central and South America, to lows of 33.6% for the small Netherlands cohort and 35.3% for the large Mexican group. The range for males was predictably smaller (97.0%-88.5%), with Japanese males (many of whom were in educational institutions) at the lower end of the scale.

The labor force participation rates appear to vary inversely with levels of fertility; the number of children ever born to women 15 years and over is the measure used by the Census. The fertility rate for Mexican women was 3.4 or about double that of the other three groups (all from the Western Hemisphere), with the highest labor force participation rates. Their fertility rates were between 1.6 and 1.7.

Unemployment: While unemployment rates for many groups in the population are a monthly economic thermometer, only once a decade does the Government publish statistics on the rates experienced by the foreign born. The data for the week studied in 1970 follows:

	Unemployment, 1970	
Class of Worker	Male	Female
Foreign Born	3.7	5.4
Native Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	3.0	4.2
Native of Native Parentage	4.1	5.2
White	3.8	4.8
Negro	6.4	7.9
Spanish	6.4	8.4

TABLE 6

Labor Force Participation of the U.S. Native and Foreign Stock, by Sex and Age: 1970

(as percents)

	MALES						FEMALES					
Population	Total	16-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	75+	Total	16-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	75+
Native Born of Native Parentage	77.0	64.1	94.1	86.2	31.2	12.2	42.2	45.7	47.7	47.3	13.8	5.2
Native Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	78.8	62.2	95.8	90.1	33.6	13.4	40.0	49.4	45.8	49.1	14.2	4.6
Foreign Born	65.0	64.4	93.2	88.2	32.2	9.7	33.2	48.2	46.1	46.7	11.6	3.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 6 and 13.

TABLE 7

Labor Force Participation Rates of the Foreign Born, Aged 25-44, 1970, by Sex and Selected Nations of Origin

(ranked by female labor part. rates)

	Labor Force Participation Rates		Number of Persons (000s)	
Country of Origin	Men	Women	Men	Women
ALL COUNTRIES*	93.7	46.1	1,093	1,384
Netherlands	97.0	33.6	16	15
Mexico	94.0	35.3	122	134
Japan	88.5	36.5	13	49
Norway	92.6	37.5	6	7
Italy	95.8	39.7	89	82
Greece	95.3	40.0	34	26
Sweden	89.0	40.5	4	8
Ireland	96.8	41.4	24	36
Canada	94.7	42.3	72	110
Germany	96.1	42.9	78	174
Denmark	94.3	43.5	5	6
France	93.9	45.4	12	26
United Kingdom	96.3	46.0	57	116
Yugoslavia	96.8	48.3	23	20
Lithuania	95.7	48.3	5	5
Austria	92.1	48.5	8	14
U.S.S.R.	91.6	48.8	13	15
Hungary	96.2	48.8	22	15
Czechoslovakia	95.7	48.9	10	13
Poland	95.0	51.1	31	36
China	95.0	51.5	37	37
Other Central & South America	92.0	54.6	75	83
Cuba	95.6	59.8	75	86
Other West Indies	92.2	68.5	41	52
All Others	93.4	49.3	197	187

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*Includes a number of not reported, not shown separately; therefore, sum of the individual countries will not equal total.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports Final Report PC(2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 13.

In 1970, the foreign born were less likely to be unemployed than the native born of native parents, and considerably less likely to be unemployed than the native born Blacks and Hispanics. In terms of age, the foreign born, like other segments of the labor force, tend to have lower unemployment rates in the middle years of work careers (25-64) than at both ends of the age spectrum.

Immigrants who had arrived most recently (and therefore are less acclimated to the U.S. labor market) and those who have been here the longest (and who are the oldest) had higher unemployment rates than those in the middle of the arrival spectrum, those who came to the U.S. between 1935 and 1965. Given the organization of the data, however, it is impossible to separate the effects of year of arrival from those of age.* The most recent arrivals reported only a fraction of a percentage point more unemployment than the foreign born, on average; the males in the 1965-1969 arrival group were 4.1% unemployed, compared to the previously cited average of 3.7% for all male foreign born.

The pattern of varying rates by nation of origin, noted above for labor force participation, held true for unemployment rates as well. The highest rates for males were those for the (fairly old) group from Norway (5.8%) and those from Mexico (5.7%), and the lowest for those born in Japan (1.8%). Among the females, the lowest rates were for those from Sweden (2.7%), Denmark (2.9%), and Ireland (3.1%); the highest were those from Italy (7.4%) and from Mexico (9.2%).

Occupation. The last two columns of the table on page 7 of Appendix B, which shows the distributions of the employed foreign born labor force and that of the employed labor force, by occupation group, would suggest that there is very little difference between these groups. The foreign born appear to be somewhat more heavily represented in the professions and among the operatives and service workers, and underrepresented among clerks, transport operatives and farmers. While there are only mild differences between the foreign born and the employed generally, there are sharp differences between both populations and the recent cohorts of arriving immigrants.

The data described above are for the employed of all ages and of both sexes, and, as is often the case, sharper distinctions can be made when a closer analysis is attempted; men and women have very different occupation group distributions, and occupational representation changes to some extent with age (the percentage of managers and professionals, for example is larger among older groups of workers). Table 8, showing the occupation group distribution in 1970 of 25-44 year old males and females, indicates noticeable differences between the foreign born and the native born of native parentage. There appears to be a bimodal distribution among the foreign born males, with higher percentages of professionals, at one end of the spectrum, and of service and farmworkers, at the other; this is balanced by smaller percentages of other white collar workers and transport equipment operatives. The principal differences among the females are that the foreign born are much more heavily represented among the operatives and considerably less so among clerical workers (where command of English would be particularly important).

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*Such a separation could be accomplished through the use of Census tapes, but they were not utilized in this research.

Occupation group distribution varies radically by nation of origin; among males, those from China had the highest proportionate representation in the professions, 30.6%, followed closely by All Other (a predominantly Asian group) and the United Kingdom, each with 28.7%. Only 3.5% of those born in Mexico were reported in professional jobs. Among the women, All Other with 23.2% and France, with 22.1% had the largest representation in the professions, with Mexico again low, at 4.0%. Since immigration from Asia and Mexico has been growing in recent years, this suggests a continuation of the bimodal distribution of occupations among immigrants (which, in turn, reflects the previously discussed bimodal distribution of schooling).

Class of Worker: Three-quarters of employed American workers in 1970 were private wage workers, about one-sixth worked for various levels of the government, and most of the balance were self employed. Data for employed persons in the U.S. and the employed foreign born are shown below:

Labor Force	Private Wage and Salary Worker	Government Worker	Self Employed Worker	Unpaid Family Worker
All U.S. Workers				
Male employed	75.5%	14.0%	10.2%	0.2%
Female employed	75.8	19.5	3.7	1.0
Foreign Born Workers				
Male employed	79.9	8.8	11.1	0.2
Female employed	84.4	10.2	4.4	1.0

The foreign born are more likely to be in private wage and salary employment, or self-employment, than the labor force as a whole, and less likely to be employed by the Government.

TABLE 8

Distribution of Occupation of the Foreign and Native Stock, 25-44, by Sex, 1970

(as percents)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	MALES			FEMALES		
	Foreign Born	Native Born of Native Parentage	Difference	Foreign Born	Native Born of Native Parentage	Difference
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	23.8	17.2	+6.6	17.2	18.8	-1.6
Managers and Administrators, except Farm	9.0	11.5	-2.5	2.9	3.3	-0.4
Sales Workers	4.4	6.7	-2.3	5.4	5.8	-0.4
Clerical and Kindred Workers	5.9	6.9	-1.0	25.9	34.2	-8.3
Craft and Kindred Workers	22.4	22.8	-0.4	2.3	1.9	+0.4
Operatives, except Transport	14.7	13.6	+1.1	25.5	14.9	+10.6
Transport Equipment Operatives	2.7	6.8	-4.1	0.2	0.7	-0.5
Farmers and Farm Managers	0.4	2.2	-1.8	0.1	0.2	-0.1
Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	2.2	1.2	+1.0	0.7	0.5	+0.2
Laborers, except Farm	5.2	5.3	-0.1	0.8	1.0	-0.2
Service Workers, except Private Household	9.2	5.8	+3.4	15.8	15.8	-
Private Household Workers	0.1	0	+0.1	3.2	2.9	+0.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 6 and 13.

The latter is not surprising, given the historical policy of the federal government against the employment of permanent resident aliens, and given the extent of clerical work within the government, a line of work in which immigrants are underrepresented generally.

What is remarkable, however, is not the fact that the foreign born are proportionately under-represented in governmental employment, but that they are as extensively represented as they are. Close to one tenth of the foreign born labor force, a total of some 380,000 persons, worked in 1970 for governments. Of this total, 44.9% were local government employees, 29.9% worked for states, and 25.2% for the Federal Government, a distribution among these three levels of government which approximates the distribution of all government workers.

Being a new arrival, and therefore not yet a citizen, apparently does not bar government employment for many immigrants; of the 1965-69 wave of immigrants, 8.4% of the males reported they were working for a government in 1970.

The Census data for 1970 bears out the image of the Irish as persons with a particular interest in the governmental process; the percentage of the male natives of Ireland employed in government was 15.4%, not only the highest among the nations of origin, but above the national average as well. Among females, those from France and the United Kingdom had the highest incidence of government employment, each with 13.1%.

The incidence of self-employment rises as one looks back over the waves of arriving immigrants, with a 3.1% incidence noted for the most recent group of male arrivals, and, for example, 12.4% for the male immigrants who came between 1945 and 1949; this upward movement is true among females as well. The nations whose immigrants were most likely to become self-employed were USSR (21.3%) and Greece (19.4%) among the males, and Norway (8.6%) and Austria and Sweden (both 7.6%) among the females.

Family Income: One of the traditional indicators of economic success is median family income, even though it masks the number of workers in the family producing that income. When income data on families and unrelated individuals are compared, without regard to age, we see the following:

Class of Worker	1969 Income of Families	1969 Income of Unrelated persons
Foreign Born	$9,026	$2,357
Native Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	11,356	3,064
Native Born of Native Parentage	9,327	2,414
White	9,763	2,507
Negro	6,035	1,932
Spanish	7,248	2,379

Source: Census, PC(2)-1A, Tables 8 and 9.

Incomes of the foreign born appear to be marginally below those of the native born, and considerably below those of the second generation; once the variable of age has been removed, as it has in Table 9, it is clear that in eight of the ten comparisons the foreign born have incomes marginally or substantially higher than the native born of native parentage, with this not being the case only for the unrelated individuals under the age of 45. The relative advantage of foreign born is at the highest among older families.

The bimodal distribution previously noted along the variables of education and occupation group carries over to family earnings; once age is taken into consideration there is only a small difference between the median earnings of the foreign born and those of the native born of native parentage, but the income distribution for the foreign born is clearly more skewed than it is for the natives. Thus for the 25-44 age groups:

	Head of Family	
1969 Cumulative Percent of Families With Incomes	Native of Native Parentage	Foreign Born
less than 1000	2.2	3.3
less than 5000	14.0	16.1
more than 15,000	18.5	21.0
more than 25,000	3.1	4.0

Given this distribution, one would expect that the percentage of immigrant families with incomes falling below the poverty level would be higher than for the native population of native parentage; this is true, but only for families with heads less than 45 years old. Thus:

	Percent of Families in Poverty, 1969	
Age of Head of Family	Native of Native Parentage	Foreign Born
16-24	15.7	18.2
25-44	10.1	10.9
45-64	9.1	6.3
65-74	19.7	11.9
75+	28.5	20.7

As one would expect, the percentage of foreign born families in poverty drops as one moves backward regarding the time of arrival. Of the immigrants arriving in 1965-70, 16.1% were in poverty, those arriving between 1950-54, 8.1%, and those who arrived between the mid-twenties and mid-thirties, only 7.0%.

TABLE 9

Median 1969 Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals of the Foreign and Native Stock by Age Groupings

(in dollars)

Age Group	MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME		MEDIAN INCOME OF UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	
	Foreign Born	Native Born of Native Parentage	Foreign Born	Native Born of Native Parentage
16-24	6,685	6,669	1,484	1,562
25-44	10,134	10,054	4,789	5,917
45-64	11,493	10,551	4,265	3,866
65-74	6,288	5,092	1,973	1,885
75+	4,332	3,724	1,626	1,614

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 8 and 9.

So far we have been dealing with published Census data. A useful contribution to our knowledge on this subject has been made by Barry Chiswick,* of the Hoover Institute at Stanford. Drawing on the public use sample and using linear regression analysis, Chiswick found that the white male foreign born earn less than native white male workers with similar characteristics for their first 13 years in the nation; they then reach earnings parity with their peers, and after 20 years they are making 6.4% more than these peers. In Chiswick's work, he controlled for the effects of schooling, labor market experience, marital status, and place of residence.

Chiswick writes that his findings suggest "that immigrants are, on average, more highly motivated or more able than the native born. This implies a selectivity bias in migration to the U.S. in favor of the more able, more highly motivated."

It should be borne in mind that Chiswick's findings relate to a minority of the foreign born in the nation in 1970 (eliminating all women, all non-whites, and younger and older white males), and that the characteristics of immigrant cohorts have changed sharply since the 1965 Amendments went into effect. Does the labor market react similarly to women and to non-whites? Some data on that point are presented subsequently.

Contribution to the Growth of the Labor Force: The native born U.S. labor force, unlike some of the labor forces in Western Europe in recent years, would grow without any contribution from immigration. This is the case because of the excess of births over deaths, because of a rising rate of labor force participation of women, and because of the age composition of the current and recent population of the nation (in other words, because the babies of the baby boom years are now joining the labor force).

Another basic factor is the relatively small proportion of foreign born workers in 1970. The Census reported these labor force totals for that year:

Foreign born:	4,254,000
Native born of foreign or mixed parentage:	11,905,000
Native born of native parentage:	65,760,000

Source: Census, PC(2)-1A, Tables 6 and 7.

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*Barry R. Chiswick, "The Earnings of Immigrants and Their Children," (mimeo), December, 1976; "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign Born Men," Journal of Political Economy (forthcoming); and "Sons of Immigrants: Are They at an Earnings Disadvantage?" American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings, February 1977, pp. 376-380 (Errata, AER, September 1977, p. 775).

Given this background, what contribution does immigration make to the growth of the labor force? Two major problems immediately present themselves; the first and more significant is that there is virtually no useful data on the flow or stock of illegal immigrants in the nation, so that one can only hope to deal with one aspect of the international migration of workers, that of legal, permanent immigrants.*

The second problem is that there is no generally accepted way to measure the contribution of immigrants to the labor force; this is a relatively obscure statistical issue, and no federal commission has been established to struggle with the problem (as it has for unemployment data).

A traditional and not very satisfactory way to measure the immigrant contribution to labor force growth has been to total the number of legal immigrants who indicate that they have an occupation when they complete their visa application and then compare that total to the increase in the civilian labor force. During the first eight years in which the 1965 Amendments controlled immigration (and the period covered by the statistical appendix), there was, on average, a growth of 2,000,000 a year in the labor force, and an average of about 154,000 immigrants with occupations listed on their visa applications; thus only about 7.7% of the addition to the labor force could be attributed to immigration.**

We have worked out a more comprehensive estimation technique which takes into account a variety of other factors, principally the fact that many adult immigrants who report no occupation on their visa application are hard at work a few years later; further, children arriving as immigrants grow up and join the labor force. On the other hand, immigrants, just like other workers, die, retire, or emigrate. Using a technique described elsewhere,*** and assuming a steady flow of immigrants at the 400,000 a year level, we estimated that in the period mid-1972 through mid-1985, that the net increase in the labor force attributable to immigration would average about 222,000 a year, thus comprising about 13% of the projected increase in the labor force in that time period.

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*A third flow of workers, notable more for their characteristics, limited rights, and working conditions than their numbers, temporary nonimmigrant workers, is the subject of an ongoing study by the author.

**Immigrant data from INS Annual Reports, 1968-1976, Table 8A; U.S. labor force data for 1968 from Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 1 (noninstitutional population, civilian labor force 16 years of age and over); comparable data for 1976 secured by phone from BLS.

***See David S. North and Allen LeBel, Manpower Policy and Immigration Policy in the United States: An Analysis of a Nonrelationship (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Manpower Policy, forthcoming), Chapter IV and Appendix B.

My late colleague, John Dellaplaine, suggested a third approach which should be mentioned; he pointed out that in 1970 there were 4,685,000 native born children living in families with one or two foreign born parents; these children could be expected to join the labor force at approximately age 20, and that would suggest, on average, that 5% of them would be joining the labor force annually. This would be an additional movement of about 235,000 annually, or about twice the impact measured through the technique described above. We do not favor this estimating technique, because it deals with a population (of native born citizens) which is essentially, as it should be, beyond the control of immigration policy makers. It is useful, however, to remember this secondary impact on the labor force.

In summary, we find that the foreign born workers enumerated by the 1970 Census were much older than native born workers, and that comparisons between these workers and others were more meaningful when the factor of age was held constant. Thus labor force participation rates, which appeared to be lower for the foreign born than the native born when the two groups are viewed generally, are not much different when age is held constant. The foreign born have slightly lower rates of unemployment, on average, than the native born of native parents, but slightly higher than the native born of foreign or mixed parentage. The labor force participation and unemployment data for the foreign born as a whole mask wide variations among different nationality groups.

The occupation group distribution of the foreign born is mildly different from that of the native born of native parentage, in that there is a slightly higher percentage of men in the professions and services and of women in the operative category, among the immigrants. On the other hand, there is a radical difference between the occupation group distribution of the foreign born and that of the recent cohorts of immigrants, described in the previous chapter.

The income of the foreign born is higher than that of the native born of native parentage in most age-specific comparisons; the distribution of income is also more likely to be bimodal than that of native born families.

While there is no uniformly accepted technique to measure the extent to which immigrants contribute to the growth of the labor force, it appears that about one-eighth of that growth, when various factors are taken into consideration, can be attributed to immigrants.

CHAPTER FOUR

The data we will present on what happened to the 1970 cohort of immigrants in the U.S. labor market are derived from two quite different sources, and thus will be discussed separately. One collection of data, based on the taxable earnings records of the Social Security Administration, provides extensive longitudinal employment and earnings information on a random subsample of 1,393 working-age immigrants, drawn from the previously mentioned sample of 5,000 members of the 1970 cohort; these data will be presented in this chapter. The other collection of data, while it deals with a wide variety of labor market variables (earnings, occupation, job histories, unemployment, and job changes), is based on interviews with 254 volunteers from the 1970 cohort, a study group which has a higher median income than the Social Security subsample and presumably the cohort as a whole. Data from this source, while useful particularly in comparing the experiences of different segments within the respondent group, must be treated carefully and is presented in the following chapter. The detailed methodologies employed in connection with both data sources are described in Appendix A.

The taxable earnings records of the Social Security Administration present a researcher with both unique opportunities and some limitations. The advantages are:

- Extensive coverage. By law, virtually all work for compensation in this nation is subject to Social Security taxation; the principal exception to that statement, work for the Federal Government, is of little significance in this study, because of the Government's general policy of not employing permanent resident aliens. The law, apparently, is very likely to be obeyed; of the members of the 254-member study group responding to the question, 95.6% said that Social Security taxes were deducted. In our previous survey of apprehended illegal aliens,* we found that of those responding, 77.3% reported these deductions.

- Sound data. Hard data on groups of workers with known Social Security numbers can be secured, year after year, directly from the computer, without seeking either the cooperation--

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*North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, p. 142.

or testing the memory--of the individual worker or employer. Data can subsequently be cross-tabulated along variables supplied by the researcher.

The limitations are:

- Group data. Because of the Social Security Administration's strong concern with confidentiality, only data on groups of workers (at least five in a cell) are available. In this study, we essentially had a one-time-only access to the data and could ask the system for a single collection of cross tabulations and could not (understandably) have data on individuals to use, for example, in subsequent regression analysis.

- Concepts measured. While Social Security earnings data are most useful, they do not mesh with standard labor market concepts, such as labor force participation, weeks of unemploylent, involuntary part-time work, and the like. (On the other hand, a possible problem factor, that the Social Security tax covers only the first $7,800 of earnings in 1970 ($14,100 in 1975) did not present any difficulties, because we used median earnings, and the median did not exceed the taxable maximum for any cell of interest in the years studied.)

What the Social Security system does measure is receipt (and the extent thereof) or the non-receipt of earnings taxes in a given year; we use the term "all workers" for those members of the cohort for whom at least some tax payments were made during the year, and "nonworkers" for those for whom no deductions were made in a given year.

Within the worker category, there are several mutually exclusive subcategories, grouped into four elements for this study:

- four-quarter wage and salary workers: These are workers with the strongest ties to the labor market, in that they have (in most cases) reported taxable wages or salaries in each three-month period of the calendar year or (in a few cases) exceeded the taxable maximum early in the year and are assumed to be working throughout the year.

- less than four quarter wage and salary workers: These are workers who had taxable wages or salaries in at least one quarter of the year, but not in all four quarters.

- self-employed workers: These workers were either entirely self-employed, or reported both self-employment and wage and salary taxes.

- agricultural workers: A handful of workers reported agricultural wages, mostly in addition to non-agricultural wages; only one immigrant of the 1,393, in one year, reported only agricultural wages.

We have analyzed the data along eight variables, seven known at the time of visa application; these were sex, region of origin, immigration classification (the provision of the law which enabled their admission), state of intended residence in the U.S., and age, marital status, and occupation, all at the time of application. (Marital status was cross-tabulated with sex.) The eighth variable was occupational group as reported in January, 1972, i.e., after they had been exposed to the U.S. labor market for an average of two years.

The first seven variables were potential predictors of earnings levels and other labor-market behavior available from the primary data source, the visa application (other interesting variables, such as education, wealth, fluency with English, were not).

Table 10 provides a quick summary of some of the characteristics of the subsample, which closely resembles the profile of recent immigrant workers generally; a majority of the subsample are men, a slight majority are from the Eastern Hemisphere, most were married on arrival, and all were between the ages of 18 and 59 in 1970 (age groupings are updated in tables dealing with later years in this chapter). Their occupational concentrations are much like those of cohorts of recent immigrants, shown in Appendix B, and all reported that they were intending to live in the nine states of heavy immigrant concentration, from which the original sample was drawn.

1. Employment Data: What does the Social Security data tell us about the immigrants' employment patterns? Table 11 indicates that the overwhelming majority of the subsample were four quarter workers, that only a small portion were self-employed, and that farmwork was a minimal factor in their lives.

Over time, it shows a substantial net drop in the number of four quarter wage and salary workers, from a peak of 895 in 1971 to 771 in 1975, a year of high unemployment, and net increases among the less than four quarter workers, the self-employed and, particularly, the nonworkers. (The number of less than four quarter workers in calendar 1970 is deceiving, because some members of the cohort did not arrive in the country until June of 1970.)

It is instructive to compare the employment patterns of the immigrant subsample with those of all workers in the years 1970 through 1975, but one should bear in mind that the immigrants fall into a tighter age range (18 to 59 in 1970) than U.S. workers generally. Table 12 indicates that, except in the first year, these immigrants were more likely to be four quarter workers than U.S. workers generally. Although it is not displayed, immigrant workers of both sexes in the subsample were

TABLE 10

Distribution of Immigrants in SSA Subsample, by Selected Characteristics
(as numbers; 1970 distribution)

TOTAL	1,393
Sex	
Men	749
Women	644
Age Groupings	
20-24	314
25-34	588
35-44	305
45-54	158
55-64	28
Marital Status	
Married	983
Single	347
Other	31
Unknown	32
Region of Origin	
Canada	84
Mexico	172
Caribbean	203
Central & South America	195
Northern & Western Europe	93
Southern & Eastern Europe	256
Asia	323
Africa	31
Australia	18
Unknown	18
1970 Occupation	
Professional, Technical, & Kindred Workers	230
Managers, Administrators, and Owners	33
Farmers	27
Sales Workers	14
Craft & Kindred Workers	185
Clerical & Kindred Workers	78
Operatives	93
Laborers, except Farm	101
Farm Laborers	11
Service Workers, except Private Household	63
Private Household Workers	38
Students	66
Housewives	263
Unknown	191

71

Note: The tables dealing with earnings of the subsample, which follow, will not reflect these totals, because a number of elements were eliminated; these include: nonworkers, self-employed individuals, and in some cases, cells were eliminated because they were too small for separate analysis.

TABLE 11

Incidence of Recorded Social Security Taxable Earnings of the SSA Subsample of FY 1970 Working-Age Immigrants, by Type of Worker, 1970-1975

(as numbers)

	WORKERS						
YEAR	Four Quarter Wage & Salary	Less Than Four Quarter Wage & Salary	Self Employed*	Farmworkers*	Total Workers	NONWORKERS	TOTAL SAMPLE
1970	671	496	17	1	1,185	208	1,393
1971	895	267	18	1	1,181	212	1,393
1972	891	262	22	6	1,181	212	1,393
1973	874	271	36	0	1,181	212	1,393
1974	866	230	46	3	1,145	248	1,393
1975	771	282	47	0	1,100	293	1,393

*all or partial.

Source: Computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor and Migration Studies.

TABLE 12

Incidence of Four Quarter Workers Among All Workers Generally, for the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants and All U.S. Workers With Recorded Social Security Taxable Earnings, and U.S. Unemployment Rates, 1970-1975

(as numbers and percents)

	IMMIGRANT WORKERS			U.S. WORKERS			
Year	All Workers	Four Quarter Wage & Salary Workers	Percent	All Workers (000s)	Four Quarter Wage & Salary Workers (000s)	Percent	U.S. Unemployment Rate
1970	1,185	671	56.6	93,090	62,790	67.5	4.9
1971	1,181	895	75.8	93,340	62,540	67.0	5.9
1972	1,181	891	75.4	96,240	64,060	66.6	5.6
1973	1,181	874	74.0	99,940	66,490	66.5	4.9
1974	1,145	866	75.6	101,960	67,850	66.5	5.6
1975	1,100	771	70.1	100,400	66,550	66.3	8.5

Source: Immigrant worker data from computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies; U.S. worker data from Social Security Administration, Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1975, Tables 39 and 43; U.S. unemployment rate from Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 60 for 1970-1974; rate for 1975 secured by phone from BLS.

more likely to be four quarter workers than their peers among U.S. workers, with the level of difference being slightly more pronounced among males than among females. In 1975, the total number of resident four quarter workers fell by more than a million, but the nationwide decrease was proportionately less drastic than it was among the immigrant subsample.

Returning to the increase in nonworkers among the subsample of immigrants, it should be noted that this increase may (and probably does) reflect three different sets of events: movements out of the labor force, movements from employment to unemployment (over a full year), and movements out of the nation (emigration). (We know that neither deaths nor conversion to beneficiary status were significant factors, a subject covered in Appendix A.)

There was a net movement of 85 individuals into the nonworker category between 1970 and 1975, and we have some data on the characteristics of these additional nonworkers; for example, while 46% of the subsample were females, they constituted 53% of the net increase among the nonworkers. Similarly, it was women who were single in 1970 who made a disproportionate contribution to the net increase among nonworkers; the single (in 1970) women made up 12% of the subsample, but 29% of the additional nonworkers. Presumably, many of these women married and left the labor market for family reasons. Similarly, when movements out of the labor force are examined by sex and age grouping variables, women who were in their early 20s in 1970 made the most disproportionate contribution to the net movement out of the labor force; women in their fifties were also overrepresented in this movement, as were men in their forties, a group which may have experienced some emigration.

When we examine the net movement out of the labor force by occupation stated in 1970, we find that those who identified themselves as clericals and as students (two groups including many women) are overrepresented among the additions to the nonworkers, as are craftsworkers (who made up 13.3% of the population, but 17.6% of the net additions to nonworkers). Why the craftsworkers are leaving the labor force, or perhaps the country, we do not know.

In terms of immigration classification, the picture is clear; those admitted under the Western Hemisphere limitations are disproportionately leaving the labor force, constituting 53% of the additional nonworkers, but only 35% of the subsample; numerically limited Eastern Hemisphere immigrants were less likely to move out of the labor force than average, but the least likely to leave were the immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, who constituted 23% of the subsample, but only 8% of the additional nonworkers. (Labor certification beneficiaries were about as likely to become nonworkers as members of the subsample generally.) Looking more closely at the Western Hemisphere, we find that the Canadians were more than twice as heavily represented among the additional nonworkers than they were in the subsample; exactly the opposite was true among those born in Mexico. The canadians may be simply returning to Canada or taking advantage of their relatively high earnings (described subsequently) to finance the withdrawal from the labor market of married women.

Despite the clear evidence that part of the movement out of the labor market is due to family reasons, it is also clear that the movement accelerated in 1974 and particularly in 1975, at a time of extensive unemployment, and involved almost as many men (40) as women (45). We speculate that a major segment of this group of 85, when pressed by the 1974-1975 recession, simply left the country.

2. Earnings Data: We have previously described the published Census data on the earnings of the foreign born, generally, as well as Chiswick's* findings regarding the earnings of white male immigrants age 25 to 64. These data, dealing with an earlier generation of immigrants, primarily with immigrants admitted under previous legislation, indicate that over time immigrant earnings, all else being equal, reach parity with and then exceed those of native-born peers.

Bearing this in mind, we turn to the SSA earnings data on the 1,393 members of the 1970 cohort to seek answers to the question: how did the subsample's earnings compare to U.S. workers generally?

(a) Earnings of 1970 Immigrant Workers Compared to U.S. Workers: The broad-brush response to the first question for the period studied is that the immigrant women in the subsample (with age groupings held constant) quickly surpassed the earnings of U.S. female workers, while immigrant males (with age gorupings held constant) had not yet surpassed the earnings levels of U.S. men by 1975; this is shown in Table 13. (The devastating effect of inflation can be seen in this table by comparing the 1973 and 1975 earnings in constant 1970 dollars, for all four groups of workers; all were earning less in the latter year than in the former, though when unadjusted dollars are used the U.S. male median earnings, for example, increased from $9,522 in 1973 to $11,095 in 1975.)

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*Chiswick, "Earnings of Immigrants," "Effect of Americanization," and "Sons of Immigrants."

TABLE 13

Weighted Average Median Annual Earnings of U.S. Workers and the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, by Age Range and Sex, 1970-1975

(in 1970 dollars)

		MALES			FEMALES		
			Immigrants			Immigrants	
Year	Age Range	U.S. Median	Median	% of U.S.	U.S. Median	Median	% of U.S.
1970	20-59	$7,175	$5,158	71.9	$3,230	$2,602	80.6
1971	21-60	7,291	6,333	86.9	3,300	3,654	110.7
1972	22-61	7,916	6,914	87.3	3,440	3,859	112.2
1973	23-62	8,351	7,383	88.4	3,538	4,060	114.7
1974	24-63	8,175	7,461	91.3	3,475	4,126	118.7
1975	25-64	8,033	6,889	85.8	3,533	3,942	111.6

Source: U.S. data adapted from *Social Security Bulletin*, *Annual Statistical Supplement*, 1975, Tables 41 and 42; Immigrant data from computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration; data is for all wage and salary workers in both groups. 1970 dollars were adapted from *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, Table 122.

Note: Source material data for U.S. workers were arrayed by five year groups, e.g., 20-24, 25-29, etc. In order to make the age range of U.S. workers comparable to that of the immigrants (who became one year older each year), we adjusted the U.S. population at the upper and lower ends of the range. For example, in the case of the 21-60 year olds, we took 4/5s of the 20-24 group, the entire 25-29, 30-34, 35-39...55-59 age group, and 1/2 of the 60-61 group. We then multiplied the number of workers in each group by the median earnings for that age group, totaled the products of these calculations, and divided the total for that age group by the work force in the age range of interest to secure the weighted average median earnings.

An immediate question arises from the data presented in Table 13, and that relates to the occupational distribution of the U.S. workers and of the subsample of immigrant workers: if there is a larger proportion of persons in high income occupational groups among the U.S. workers than among the immigrant workers, or vice versa, what does that do to the comparisons in Table 13?

Given the nature of the data and our access to them, we could not simply factor out this variable (as we factored out the variable of sex), but we did work out a corrective mechanism. This was useful because the occupation group distribution of the immigrants is different from that of all U.S. wage and salary workers (in the age groups under consideration). While the immigrant subsample had a larger representation of professional and technical workers than the U.S. work force, it also had larger representations in such poorly paid occupation groups as operatives for the women and nonfarm labor for the men. On balance, and for this reason, any group of workers with the occupational group mix of the immigrants (all else being equal) could be expected to earn less than a group of workers with the occupational group mix of the U.S. work force. In fact, when this variable is taken into account (for the year 1975) through a technique described elsewhere,* one would change the immigrant/U.S. earnings percentage from 85.8% for the males (in the bottom line of Table 13) to 90.0%. Similarly, the 111.6% level for the females would advance to 119.4%.

If the female members of the immigrant subsample are earning more than women workers generally, why are the men lagging behind, particularly in view of Chiswick's sample of white male immigrants which reached income parity with their peers after 13 years? There are many possible answers, some of which are presented here; the first being that a linear projection of the earnings of the males in the subsample, which was 71.9% of the earnings of U.S. male workers in 1970, to parity 13 years later would suggest that 84% of the U.S. norm in their sixth year would be about what one would expect, and in fact, the males in the subsample were earning slightly more than that in 1975, even without taking into consideration the factor of occupation group distribution. (The relative decline in earnings of all immigrant workers vis-a-vis resident workers between 1974 and 1975 shown in Table 13 may, Chiswick has suggested, relate to the sharp rise in layoffs in 1975; since the 1970 immigrants had less than five years of employer-specific training or seniority, they may have been more vulnerable to job lay-offs than other workers. Letter from Chiswick to the author, May 1, 1978.)

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*We calculated the weighted average median earnings of the experienced U.S. civilian labor force in 1969, by occupation groups, and then we calculated the hypothetical 1969 weighted average median earnings of the subsample (assuming that the subsample's earnings were equal, occupation group by occupation group, to those of the experienced civilian labor force.) Weighted average median earnings for U.S. male workers were $7,843, compared to the hypothetical weighted average median for the subsample's males of $7,476; the U.S. females were at the $3,825 level, while the immigrant females were at $3,576. Calculations were based on occupation group distribution and median earnings data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-D1 United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1973), Tables 221 and 227, and on occupation group distribution data provided to the Center for Labor and Migration Studies by the Social Security Administration for those members of the subsample whose 1972 occupation was known and who were reported to be working in 1975.

A second possible reason for the apparent slowness of the rate of earnings increases for the males in the subsample relates to their region of origin; Chiswick's population of working-age immigrants had arrived between 1905 and 1969; during this period there was a substantially larger percentage of Eastern Hemisphere immigrants (73.5%) than in the 1970 cohort (59.5% for all immigrants of all ages that year; and 51.7% for those in the subsample.) This is significant, because Western Hemisphere immigrants earn considerably less than those from the Eastern Hemisphere. (Similarly, Chiswick's immigrants were all white; this was not the case with the SSA subsample.)

Thirdly, there is the difference in the age of arrival between Chiswick's study group and ours; his immigrants were a little less than 24 years of age on average upon arrival,* which means that many of them arrived as children (giving them an opportunity to acquire linguistic and other skills before entering the labor market). Our subsample, on the other hand, were all of working age when they arrived and were close to ten years older than Chiswick's immigrants, on average, on arrival.

This last point--the impact of age-at-arrival on a male immigrants future earnings--is shown for the subsample of immigrants in Table 14. In this table, we display earnings for the immigrant subsample and U.S. workers generally, in 1975, comparing four age groupings for both men and women. These female immigrants, except those over the age of 55, earn about $800 a year more than female workers generally, no matter what their age. But a different pattern emerges for the males; 25-34 year old members of the subsample earned about $600 less than their peers, 35-44 year old immigrants made $1,300 less than their peers, while the earning gaps spread to $2,500 for those in the next age bracket, and to close to $3,000 in the 55-64 age bracket. The widening gap strongly suggests that the U.S. labor market rewards males' experience in the U.S. labor market rather than males' work experience per se.

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*Derived from "Effect of Americanization," Table 1, by subtracting median years since migration from median age.

TABLE 14

Median Annual Earnings and Number of U.S. Workers and the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, by Age Group and Sex, 1975

(in 1975 dollars)

AGE GROUP	MEDIAN EARNINGS				NUMBER OF WORKERS			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	U.S.	Immigrant	U.S.	Immigrant	U.S.	Immigrant	U.S.	Immigrant
25-34	$9,678	$9,195	$4,696	$5,280	14,762,000	251	9,539,000	226
35-44	12,313	10,980	4,700	5,614	10,128,000	201	6,541,000	123
45-54	12,410	9,900	5,260	6,000	9,567,000	109	6,490,000	64
55-64	10,517	7,650	4,986	4,500	7,007,000	44	4,456,000	20
TOTAL	11,338	9,515	4,879	5,445	41,464,000	605	27,026,000	433

Note: Data are for all wage and salary workers. Five year age groups for U.S. workers were combined to make 10 year groupings for comparability to data on immigrants.

Source: U.S. worker data from Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1975, Tables 41 and 42; immigrant worker data from computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor and Migration Studies.

But why do female immigrants appear to earn more than U.S. female workers, with age groupings held constant, when this is not the case with male immigrants vis-a-vis U.S. male workers? The answer may simply lie in more hours worked by the female immigrants compared to U.S. female workers--data on this point cannot be secured through the Social Security taxable earnings records. Another possible answer is that both the occupational distribution of women, as well as often discriminatory pay scales, tend to compress the range of their earnings compared to those of men. It is in this setting, of generally limited economic opportunity, that it may be possible for immigrant females to achieve earnings equity with U.S. female workers more quickly than male immigrants can reach parity with their peers.*

The relatively compressed range of female earnings can be seen across both lines of age and color; for example, data in Table 14 for U.S. female workers indicate that seniority is less well rewarded for females than for males; the age grouping with the highest earnings for both sexes is that of 45-54, but white males in that age group earn 28.2% more than 25-34 year old males, females in the 45-54 age group earn only 12.0% more than 25-34 year old females. Further, the earnings differences between white males and black males are more pronounced than they are between white females and black females; in May 1977, for example, BLS reported that average weekly earnings of white full-time male workers were $217, compared with $171 for their black counterparts, a difference of 29%, while the difference between white females' weekly earnings ($157) and that of their black counterparts ($147) was only 7 percent.**

(b) Earnings of 1970 Immigrant Workers Compared to Illegal Aliens: The Social Security data also supply some clues concerning the relative earnings of groups of recent legal and illegal alien workers. As predictable, when the annual median 1975 earnings of the immigrant subsample are compared with the estimated annual median 1975 earnings of the North/Houstoun sample of 777 apprehended illegal alien workers,*** the former group of aliens did better in the U.S. labor market than did the latter. As Table 15 shows, the illegal alien workers earned less than immigrants, regardless of their region of origin. These are the roughest of comparisons, but

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*For another view of the gap between male and female earnings, see Jacob Mincer and Soloman Polachek, "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women" Journal of Political Economy, 82: 2, Part II, March/April 1974. The writers argue that the lower hourly earnings of women can be explained, to a major extent (particularly for married women), by the smaller number of years worked in the past, by the discontinuity of this work experience in many cases, and by smaller investments in on-the-job training in the years that they worked.

**U.S. Department of Labor press release 77-955, Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1977, "Trends in Weekly and Hourly Earnings for Major Labor Force Groups."

***North & Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens. The sample for this study, while nationwide in scope, could not by definition be a random sample, as can no sample of illegal aliens until more is known about this population.

TABLE 15

Estimated Annual Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants and a Sample of Apprehended Illegal Aliens, by Region of Origin, 1975

(in 1975 dollars)

Region of Origin	ALL WAGE & SALARY IMMIGRANT WORKERS		APPREHENDED ILLEGAL ALIEN WORKERS		Illegal Alien Earnings as % of Immigrant Earnings
	Median	No. in Sample	Median	No. in Sample	
Mexico	$6,263	125	$5,188	476	82.8%
Non-Mexican Western Hemisphere	7,684	367	5,919	231	77.0
Eastern Hemisphere	8,158	534	7,246	70	88.8

Source: Data on estimated annual earnings of illegals are derived from weekly earnings data prepared for *The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market: An Exploratory Study*; data for immigrants by region of origin were derived from computer printouts supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies.

there are balancing sets of factors which suggest that it is appropriate to review this information. The factors which would tend to overstate the difference between illegal and legal immigrant earnings are the younger average age of the illegals (by about 10 years) and their shorter stay in the nation (about 2.5 compared to 5 years); these factors would suggest that the group of illegals would be paid less than the legal immigrants, regardless of formal status. On the other hand, operating to understate the difference in wages (by inflating the illegals' earnings data) are the considerations of the sexual mix of the two work forces, the surveyed illegals were roughly 90% male, while roughly 40% of the legal immigrant subsample were females; further, the illegals annual earnings estimates are made by multiplying their weekly earnings in the spring of 1975 by 50, which would tend to overstate these earnings (but there is no clearly preferable alternative estimation technique).

It is interesting to note, however, that despite the differences between the annual earnings of immigrant and illegal alien workers, both groups exhibit the same subgroup differences. That is, Mexican nationals in the SSA subsample and in the sample of apprehended illegal aliens earned the least in 1975, while those from the Eastern Hemisphere earned the most. Nevertheless, those substantial intragroup differences appear to be diminished by legalization: while the Mexican and non-Mexican Western Hemisphere illegals earned, respectively, only 71.6% and 81.7% of Eastern Hemisphere illegals, the Mexican and non-Mexican Western Hemisphere immigrants earned 76.8% and 94.2% of the earnings of Eastern Hemisphere immigrants. Thus, on the basis of these data, lack of legal status in the U.S. appears to not only decrease the earnings of alien workers, it also appears to increase the earnings gap among these regional subgroups of foreign nationals.

(c) Earnings of the 1970 Immigrant Subsample. What were the earnings of the various segments of the immigrants' subsample? The measure adopted was that of the median taxable earnings level for the segment studied (such as immigrants from Canada in the region of origins table); to eliminate the inflation factor, the data are presented in 1970 dollars when data for several years are utilized.

As Table 16 indicates, there were differences in variations of median earnings between levels of the variables considered; the standard deviations presented in that table indicate, for example, that the difference between median earnings of male immigrants and female immigrants was greater than the differences between 10-year age groupings of the same subsample. In these terms, the three variables with the greatest variation between levels are sex and occupation in 1970, as one would expect, and interestingly, immigration classification. Region of origin, marital status of women, and state of destination occupy a middle role in the table, with age groupings and marital status of men at the bottom of the list. Descriptions

TABLE 16

Variation Between Levels of 1975 Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants for the Eight Studied Variables

Variable	Standard Deviation from the Mean of the Group Medians
Sex	$1,489
Occupation in 1970	1,394
Immigration Classification	1,334
Region of Origin	851
Marital Status of Women	786
State of Destination	760
Age (by ten-year groupings)	467*
Marital Status of Men	222

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*Standard deviation is 370 when the least well-paid and the smallest subset, those between age 50 and 59 in 1970, are deleted from the calculations.

Note: Data are for all wage and salary workers in the sample with social security taxable earnings in 1975.

Source: Derived from computer printouts supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor and Migration Studies.

of the findings for each of these variables, and for occupation in 1972, follow in the order noted above.

(i) Sex. The median earnings of female immigrants is considerably less than that of male immigrants, as Table 17 indicates. Although the females' earnings increased at a slightly higher rate, in terms of percentages, than that of males, between 1970 and 1975, by the latter year the dollar difference between earnings levels had increased to almost $3,000 a year.

(ii) Occupation in 1970. Immigrants who identified themselves as managers, proprietors and owners (MPOs) on their visa applications received the highest median earnings, as Table 18 indicates, and were followed, in order, in both 1970 and 1975, by professionals, craftsworkers, and clericals; those who labeled themselves either housewives or household servants (the only two all-female groups) were at the bottom of the earnings scale in both years. While we know from other sources that there is individual upward mobility, in terms of earnings, and while there is clearly an increase in earnings over time for all occupational groups, group occupational backgrounds continue to differentially affect the earnings. Though it is not particularly helpful to point out that immigrants with varying occupational backgrounds have varying earning levels, it is interesting to note that these group differences persist over time. (It should also be noted that Table 18 records the earnings of those who recorded a particular occupation in 1970; subsequent occupational changes made by members of the subsamples are not reflected in these tabulations, e.g., an immigrant who recorded "lawyer" on his visa application, but worked in 1970 and 1971 as a clerk, and since 1972 as a manager, is grouped with other professionals in the Table 18 data.)

While occupational group differences in earnings persisted over time, and the absolute dollar differences between earning levels increased between 1970 and 1975, it is also true that the largest percentage increases in median earnings were recorded for the four groups at the bottom of the 1970 earnings scale, for laborers, sales workers, household service workers, and housewives.

(iii) Immigration Classification. The immigrants with the highest earnings in the 1970 subsample were those labor certification beneficiaries from the Eastern Hemisphere, identified in Table 19 as Eastern Hemisphere workers. Those with the second highest earnings were their counterparts from the Western Hemisphere. (For a full description of these classifications, see page 22.) Understandably, the various relative classes, none of which had been screened for their labor-market utility, reported lower earnings, with the group which has the highest priority in U.S. immigration law, the immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, being near the bottom of the earnings levels.

TABLE 17

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, 1970 & 1975, by Sex
(in 1970 dollars)

	MEDIAN EARNINGS				
Sex	1970		1975		1975 as % of 1970
Males	(631)	$5,173	(578)	$6,870	132.8
Females	(453)	2,631	(412)	3,892	147.9
Total	(1084)	4,118	(990)	5,571	135.3
Standard Deviation		1,271		1,489	

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Source: computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies. 197[illegible] dollars were adapted from Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 122.

TABLE 18

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, 1970 & 1975, by Their 1970 Occupational Group

(in 1970 dollars)

1970 Occupational Group	MEDIAN EARNINGS 1 9 7 0		1 9 7 5		1975 as % of 1970
Professional, Technical & Kindred	(196)	$5,871	(191)	$8,230	140.1
Managers, Proprietors & Owners	(30)	6,600	(27)	8,905	134.9
Sales Workers	(12)	3,600	(10)	5,864	162.9
Clerical and Kindred Workers	(70)	4,846	(60)	6,255	129.1
Craft and Kindred Workers	(170)	4,975	(148)	6,783	136.3
Operatives	(84)	4,091	(81)	4,735	115.7
Laborers, except Farm	(84)	4,371	(78)	5,430	124.2
Farmers and Farm Managers	(20)	4,800	(23)	5,575	116.1
Farm Laborers and Foremen	(9)	2,700	(10)	5,430	201.1
Service Workers, exc. Private Household	(55)	4,050	(51)	4,851	119.8
Household Service Workers	(28)	2,700	(28)	4,127	152.9
Students	(58)	3,075	(47)	4,398	143.0
Housewives	(168)	2,014	(154)	3,258	161.8
Unknown	(151)	4,250	(130)	6,950	163.5
TOTAL	(1,135)	4,082	(1,038)	5,594	137.0
Standard Deviation		$1,141		$1,394	

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Students, housewives, and those with unknown occupations were excluded from the standard deviation calculations.

Source: Computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies. 1970 dollars were adapted from Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 122.

TABLE 19

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, 1970 & 1975, by Immigration Classification

(in 1970 dollars)

	MEDIAN EARNINGS				
Immigration Classification	1970		1975		1975 as % of 1970
Eastern Hemisphere Workers	(154)	$6,420	(143)	$8,623	134.3
Eastern Hemisphere Workers' Relatives	(84)	3,400	(74)	5,647	166.1
Eastern Hemisphere Relatives	(159)	4,071	(137)	5,075	124.7
Eastern Hemisphere Relatives' Relatives	(87)	3,563	(83)	4,597	129.0
Western Hemisphere Workers	(210)	4,410	(192)	6,386	144.8
Western Hemisphere Relatives	(208)	3,167	(181)	4,643	146.6
Immediate Relative of Citizen	(215)	3,616	(212)	4,851	134.2
Unknown*	(18)	5,000	(16)	5,864	117.3
TOTAL	(1,135)	4,082	(1,038)	5,594	137.0
Standard Deviation		$1,026		$1,334	

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*excluded from standard deviation calculation

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Source: computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies. 1970 dollars were adapted from Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 122.

(iv) Region of Origin. It is interesting that the 1970 and 1975 variance across immigration classifications are higher than along the lines of region of origin--the variable upon which for many years the nation's immigration policy was centered (during the years of the country-of-origin quota system).

Table 20 shows that immigrants from Canada and Northern and Western Europe had the highest median earnings in 1970; by 1975, the Canadians had dropped back with the Northern and Western Europeans recording the highest medians, followed by the Asians. The most dramatic increase in earnings levels, more than 158%, was recorded for the immigrants from the Caribbean, a group which included a number of Cubans.

Not shown are the cross-tabulations by region of origin and by sex; in most of the six years covered by this study, Canadian men had the highest earnings, and Mexican men, the lowest. Among the women, Canadian and Northern European women ranked at the top during most of the years, but were displaced by the Caribbean women in 1975. Mexican women were consistently at the bottom of the ladder.

(v) Marital Status of Women. As one would expect, married women reported lower earnings than single women in the subsample of immigrants; in 1975, the married women had median earnings of $4,996, compared to $7,167 for single women. Single men, on the other hand, who presumably had financial obligations roughly comparable to those of single women, had median earnings of $9,081 that year. The sample had too few divorced, separated or widowed persons (at the time of filing of the visa application) for analysis as three categories, or for analysis as a single "other marital status" category; this was the case for both men and women.

(vi) State of Destination. Immigrants who indicated that they planned to settle in Michigan and Pennsylvania secured the highest median earnings in 1970 (see Table 21), while those who recorded a preference for California and Texas had the lowest median earnings. (The latter groups included large numbers of immigrants from Mexico.)

By 1975, the pattern had changed substantially, with New Jersey and Michigan showing the highest medians, and Pennsylvania, the lowest. During those years, the income for immigrants who said they were destined for California increased, in constant dollars, by almost 50%, while it fell in Pennsylvania, presumably another indication of the sunbelt-snowbelt trends in the American economy. The lower standard deviation ($760) in 1975 compared to that in 1970 ($1,083) suggests that the relative importance of the state of destination, in terms of its association with earnings levels, declined over time.

TABLE 20

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, 1970 & 1975, by Region of Origin
(in 1970 dollars)

Region of Origin	MEDIAN EARNINGS				1975 as % of 1970
	1970		1975		
Canada	(62)	$6,360	(51)	$5,756	90.5
Mexico	(124)	3,375	(125)	4,534	134.3
Caribbean	(183)	3,793	(156)	6,027	158.9
Central & South America	(172)	3,733	(160)	5,050	135.3
Northern & Western Europe	(77)	5,150	(66)	6,950	135.0
Southern & Eastern Europe	(215)	4,038	(185)	5,403	133.8
Asia	(248)	4,341	(250)	6,130	141.2
Africa	(26)	5,400	(21)	5,539	102.6
Australia	(14)	3,600	(12)	3,910	108.6
Unknown	(14)	5,000	(12)	5,213	104.3
TOTAL	(1,135)	4,082	(1,038)	5,594	137.0
Standard Deviation		$945		$851	

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Source: computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor and Migration Studies. 1970 dollars were adapted from *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1975, Table 122.

TABLE 21

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, 1970 & 1975, by State of Destination

(in 1970 dollars)

State of Destination	MEDIAN EARNINGS				1975 as % of 1970
	1970		1975		
New Jersey	(119)	$4,864	(110)	$6,733	138.4
Michigan	(34)	5,700	(36)	6,516	114.3
Illinois	(81)	4,740	(84)	5,864	123.7
Massachusetts	(68)	4,125	(57)	5,691	138.0
New York	(409)	3,972	(337)	5,665	142.6
California	(255)	3,688	(237)	5,458	148.0
Texas	(63)	3,500	(68)	4,778	136.5
Florida	(56)	3,800	(57)	4,724	124.3
Pennsylvania	(38)	5,200	(42)	4,344	83.5
TOTAL	(1,123)	4,111	(1,028)	5,607	136.4
Standard Deviation		$1,083		$760	

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Source: computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies. 1970 dollars were adapted from *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1975, Table 122.

(vii) Age Groupings and Marital Status of Men. As we stated earlier, the age groupings of immigrant men do not have the same relationship to median earnings levels as for U.S. men, with Table 14 indicating that U.S. men experience their highest earnings in the 45-54 age group (as do both immigrant and resident women), while male members of the immigrant subsample showed the highest earnings in the 34-44 age group.

Married men in the subsample, as expected, earned more than the single men, by margins of 10 to 12%.

(viii) The Workings of the System. If one assumes that earnings equates to, or at least relates to, productivity,* and if one examines the subsets of the immigrant subsample with the highest and the lowest earnings, and then examines the trends in immigrant admission statistics (in Appendix B), one notices a curious phenomenon. The intricate, and not particularly deliberate, operations of the immigration system appear, on at least three counts, to be producing larger groups of the less productive immigrants, and smaller groups of the more productive immigrants.

Men earn more than women; Canadians, more than Mexicans; and labor certification beneficiaries, more than other immigrants (primarily relatives). Yet the system, in the period 1970 through 1976, enabled the entrance of progressively larger groups of those with lower median earnings. In 1970, the ratio of male to female admissions was .901; in 1976, it was .865. (For those in the working ages, 20 to 60, the ratios were even lower, .877 in 1970 and .837 in 1976.)

Between 1970 and 1976, annual immigration from Canada fell from 13,804 to 7,638, while immigration from Mexico rose from 44,469 to 57,863.

The admissions of labor certification beneficiaries fell from 55,452 in 1970 to 25,474 in 1976, with a comparable increase (in numbers) of admissions of those with family preferences.

We are not suggesting that there is a grand design to bring about a less productive (or at least less well paid) mix of immigrants, but this appears to be what is happening, nevertheless.

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*Clearly, discrimination plays a role in the compensation of many workers as well.

(ix) Post-admission Changes in Occupations. Data were collected on the occupational groups of the immigrant subsample in January 1972, when they filed their alien address cards; at that time, they had been exposed to the U.S. labor market for an average of two years, and in a majority of cases, they had changed their occupational grouping (or had moved out of the housewife or student category into the labor force.)* When median earnings are arrayed along the lines of their 1972 occupational distribution, as shown in Table 22, the variations in earnings, as one might expect, are larger than when the 1970 occupational lines are used. The greater variations in group earnings between Tables 18 and 22 can be measured in two ways: by the larger standard deviations recorded on the second table, and by the greater range (with professionals recording the largest earnings and housewives, the smallest, in both 1970 and 1975).

Percentage income increases between 1970 and 1975 were, as has been noted along other variables, the greatest for those at the bottom of the economic ladder; the relatively small groups of persons who, in 1972, classified themselves as household service workers, farm laborers, students and housewives all enjoyed well-above average increases in income in the 1970-1975 period.

That women earn less than men in our sample has been mentioned earlier; Table 23 indicates that when 1972 occupational group data are cross-tabulated with sex, women earn less than men in every occupational group (with the exception of the handful of 1972 students), and that in many cases they earn less than half as much as male immigrants in the same occupational group.

Finally, median earnings data may be used on another aspect of the immigrants' adjustment to the U.S. labor market--occupational stability; we examined those immigrants who in 1972 reported the same occupational group as in 1970 (stayers), and those who departed from their 1970 stated occupation (leavers). A third group may, in fact, be considered--those who moved into a new occupational group in 1972 (arrivers).

Generally, stayers fared better than leavers. The stayers, in 1975, had median earnings of more than a thousand dollars higher than those who changed occupational groups ($8,482 vs. $7,478 in 1975 dollars).

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*It would have been desirable to have occupational group data for each of the years, 1970 through 1975, as well as the median earnings data, but such a mesh could not be secured because of difficulties within the INS system.

TABLE 22

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, 1970 & 1975, by Their 1972 Occupational Group
(in 1970 dollars)

	MEDIAN EARNINGS				
1972 Occupational Group*	1970		1975		1975 as % of 1970
Professional, Technical & Kindred	(192)	$6,927	(186)	$8,978	129.6
Managers, Proprietors & Owners	(28)	5,000	(18)	8,254	165.1
Sales Workers	(19)	4,700	(19)	5,973	127.1
Clerical and Kindred Workers	(132)	4,440	(114)	5,958	134.2
Craft and Kindred Workers	(133)	5,250	(120)	7,037	134.0
Operatives	(199)	3,579	(172)	4,308	120.4
Laborers, except Farm	(102)	4,275	(94)	5,430	127.0
Farm Laborers and Foremen	(6)	1,200	(9)	6,299	524.9
Service Workers, except Private	(142)	3,327	(132)	5,337	160.4
Household Service Workers	(8)	1,600	(9)	3,667	229.2
Students	(23)	1,860	(21)	4,453	239.4
Housewives	(63)	1,367	(67)	2,534	185.4
Unknown	(84)	3,000	(72)	4,561	152.0
TOTAL	(1,131)	4,095	(1,033)	5,605	136.9
Standard Deviation		$1,616		$1,550	

*Farmers and Farm Managers were omitted from this list, as there were no reported occupations in that group in 1972.

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Source: computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor and Migration Studies. 1970 dollars were adapted from *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1975, Table 122.

TABLE 23

Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, by Their 1972 Occupational Group and Sex, 1975

(in 1975 dollars)

	1975 MEDIAN EARNINGS			
1972 Occupational Group*	MALES		FEMALES	
Professional, Technical & Kindred	(119)	$13,878	(67)	$10,071
Managers, Proprietors & Owners	(13)	13,842	(5)	3,900
Sales Workers	(12)	11,400	(7)	5,100
Clerical & Kindred Workers	(40)	10,600	(74)	7,425
Craft & Kindred Workers	(114)	10,080	(6)	5,700
Operatives	(90)	9,075	(82)	4,200
Laborers, except Farm	(83)	7,710	(11)	5,100
Farm Laborers and Foremen	(9)	8,700	(0)	0
Service Workers, except Priv. Household	(74)	8,700	(58)	5,400
Household Service Workers	(0)	0	(9)	4,650
Students	(12)	5,400	(9)	10,500
Housewives	(0)	0	(67)	3,500
Unknown	(35)	7,500	(37)	5,025
TOTAL	(601)	9,456	(432)	5,430
Standard Deviation		$2,104		$1,810

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

*Farmers and Farm Managers were omitted from this list, as there were no reported occupations in that group in 1972.

Source: Computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies.

Table 24 shows in more detail the variances in earnings for stayers, leavers, and arrivers. For the first five occupational groups listed on the table, the labor market provided higher earnings for those who stayed in their field than for those who left their field or those who were new entrants. Persons who identified themselves as, for example, lawyers at admission, who went into other non-professional careers, would be among those who left the professional category; new arrivals in that category would include (among others) those who called themselves students in 1970, but had obtained professional jobs in 1972.

While it was economically rewarding to stay in the first five occupational categories noted on Table 24, it was profitable, apparently, to move out of the next five categories listed. The persons who stopped being housewives (a major group) or students, or who moved out of the clerical, operative, and other service occupations had higher earnings than those who stayed in those categories. The earning levels of the arrivals into these occupational groups were mixed.

Data on the last three categories are inconclusive; no members of the sample stayed in farm work, though some moved into it, and some out of it; so no stayer-leaver comparisons can be made. Similarly, the data on household workers are not particularly instructive; while many more women left those jobs than entered them, the earnings of the stayers and the leavers were equal, with the newcomers earning less money than either of the other two segments.

The highlights of this chapter, which dealt with the work experience and Social Security taxable earnings of a subsample of 1,393 members of the 1970 cohort of immigrants, were as follows:

- There was a 7% shrinkage in the work force (not explained by deaths, disabilities or retirements) which we speculate was caused by family-oriented withdrawals from the work force by young women, and by at least some emigration.

- The women in the subsample, by 1971, were earning more than their U.S. peers; the men in the subsample were moving toward earnings parity with their U.S. peers by 1975, but had not reached it.

- Although the comparisons are only approximate, the legal immigrants in 1975 were earning more than a sample of apprehended illegal ones; in both groups, Eastern Hemisphere workers earned more than those from the balance of the Western Hemisphere and who in turn earned more than those from Mexico.

- In terms of internal comparisons within the subsample, earnings were strongly influenced by sex, by presence or absence of previous professional/managerial experience, and by immigration classification (i.e., labor certification beneficiaries were better paid than other immigrants).

TABLE 24

1975 Median Earnings of the SSA Subsample of 1970 Immigrants, by Those Who Changed and Those Who Did Not Change Occupational Group Between 1970 and 1972

(in 1975 dollars)

Occupational Group	Stayers[1]		Leavers[2]		Arrivers[3]	
Professional, Technical, Kindred	(125)	$12,780	(66)	$8,600	(61)	$11,350
Managers, Proprietors, Owners	(5)	14,100	(22)	10,200	(13)	8,700
Sales Workers	(4)	8,400	(6)	7,200	(15)	7,050
Craft and Kindred Workers	(67)	11,100	(81)	8,950	(53)	8,700
Nonfarm Laborers	(21)	7,650	(57)	7,350	(73)	7,470
Clerical and Kindred Workers	(34)	8,400	(26)	9,000	(80)	8,200
Operatives	(36)	6,000	(45)	6,700	(136)	5,925
Other Service Workers	(26)	5,850	(25)	7,500	(106)	7,900
Students	(13)	5,700	(34)	6,300	(5)	8,100
Housewives	(43)	3,675	(111)	5,008	(25)	2,850
Farmers and Farm Managers	(0)	0	(23)	7,700	(0)	0
Household Service Workers	(5)	5,700	(23)	5,700	(4)	4,200
Farm Laborers and Foremen	(0)	0	(10)	7,500	(9)	8,700
Unknown	(14)	3,600	(116)	9,733	(58)	6,300
TOTAL	(393)	8,482	(645)	7,478	(638)	7.478

[1] Those in occupation in both 1970 and 1972

[2] Those who were in occupation in 1970 but not in 1972.

[3] Those who were in occupation in 1972 but not in 1970.

Note: Number of members of subgrouping are noted in parentheses.

Source: Computer printout supplied by the Social Security Administration to the Center for Labor & Migration Studies.

- Classes of immigrants with higher earnings records (such as males, labor certification beneficiaries and Canadians) are arriving in ever-decreasing numbers as the immigration system (presumably non-deliberately) progressively admits larger percentages of aliens with lower earnings potentials.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE 1970 IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOR MARKET: STUDY GROUP DATA

CHAPTER FIVE

This chapter is divided into three sections; the first describes the characteristics of the respondents as a whole (the 254 working age, FY 1970 immigrants who agreed to be interviewed); the second outlines differences within the study group, such as the responses and experiences of men and women and of those with and without relatives in this country at the time of their arrival; the third examines in some detail the occupational progression of the 209 members of the study group for whom we have information on two or more jobs.

Throughout the analysis, we will present 1976 earnings data on various subsets of the study group, 222 of whom reported wage and salary or self-employed earnings that year. Thus we find, for example, that the mean earnings of the male respondents was $15,809 in that year, and $8,456 for the female respondents. Similarly, members of the survey group who reported that they knew relatives in this country before their arrival had mean earnings of $12,256, while those without such ties had earnings of $14,268. (These earnings are expressed in 1976 dollars.)

I. The Study Group as a Whole

The 254 respondents had a number of characteristics in common because all were drawn from the previously mentioned sample of 5,000 immigrants admitted to the United States between July 1, 1969 and June 30, 1970; all were between the ages of 18 and 59 upon admission; all had indicated on their visa applications that they were planning to live in the nine states of high immigrant concentration (listed on page A-1); all were alive and within the United States during October and November 1977, when they were interviewed (and thus could supply neither emigration nor mortality data); and all had told INS, in writing, that they were willing to be interviewed.

It should be stressed that the study group, deliberately, covered all immigrants as defined above; we did not define out of the universe married women, as the valuable Canadian longitudinal study did,* nor did we exclude nonwhites and women, as Chiswick did, nor did we exclude nonworkers, another possibility. This is not to suggest, on the other hand, that ours is a random sample, a point we have made elsewhere in this report; it is useful, however, to review the characteristics of the entire study group before discussing the more significant findings about differing labor market behavior of segments of the study group.

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*Department of Manpower and Immigration, Three Years in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974).

Personal Characteristics

The study group included 148 males (142 with 1976 earnings) and 106 females (80 with such earnings); thus the percentage of females in this work force of 222 was 36%, which is close to the percentage in the total foreign born labor force, as reported in the 1970 census, which was 38%.*

The median age of the group at the time of the interview was 37; the group consisted predominantly of persons in their prime working years:

Age Group	Number	Percentage
25-34	87	34
35-44	94	37
45-54	50	20
55 plus	22	9
TOTAL	253	100%

Two twenty-five year olds and two sixty-seven year olds marked the ends of the age spectrum. The age of one immigrant is not known.

The respondents had been citizens of nations in the following regions:

Region of Citizenship	Number	Percentage
Eastern Hemisphere	110	43
Canada	34	13
Mexico	29	11
Other Western Hemisphere	75	30
Unknown	6	2
TOTAL	254	99

Thus Canadians and Northern and Western Europeans were over-represented in the study group when it is compared to the 1970 cohort. Interestingly, an examination of the nation of birth of the respondents, at the time of migration, indicates 25 Canadians, not the 34 above, showing that at least nine of the respondents had stayed in Canada long enough to become Canadian citizens before migrating, again, to the U.S.

Most of the respondents were married, with the incidence of both marriage and divorce increasing since arrival:

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*Census, PC(2)-1A, Table 18.

	MARITAL STATUS ON ARRIVAL		MARITAL STATUS AT INTERVIEW	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
married	165	65	202	80
single, never married	77	30	26	10
divorced	4	2	15	6
widowed	4	2	6	2
separated	4	2	5	2
TOTAL	254	101%	254	100%

Three quarters of the spouses of the respondents were foreign born.

The respondents were primarily members of small households. There were, at the time of the interview, a mean of 3.8 members of the respondents' households, including 1.5 children. (This was not a measure of children-ever-born, but of children under the age of 18 living in the household at the time of the interview.) A substantial minority of the respondents continued to support persons (presumably family members) in their nations of origin in 1977, close to eight years after migration; 12.7% of the respondents said that they supported one such person, and 18.3% said that they supported two or more. (The illegal alien respondents in the North-Houstoun study, who had been in the nation for about a third as long as the immigrant respondents had a much higher incidence of such support, more than three-quarters of them reporting those payments.*)

The respondents' exposure to schooling was predictable; the median was 12 years (as is the median for the foreign born and the U.S. population generally), and a substantial number of them, 85, or 25%, reported 16 or more years of education, as opposed to only 10% who reported six years or less. The 85 included 55 with one or more overseas degrees, a dozen with U.S. degrees (only), and a particularly cosmopolitan group of 18 with at least one overseas degree and at least one U.S. degree. We suspect, based on the higher percentage of the study group who identified themselves as professionals in their last overseas job (compared to comparable data on the 1970 cohort as a whole) that the study group had more years of schooling than the cohort as a whole.

The study group (we suspect disproportionately vs. the cohort because of the higher incidence of professionals before migration) brought with it substantial knowledge of the English language; 29% were native English speakers, 40% said that they had learned (or started to learn) the language in their home country (almost inevitably in the school system), and only 32% said that they had not studied English (or in English) in their home country. By the time of the interview, all but about one sixth of the respondents were speaking English adequately or better (according to the admittedly subjective ears of our interviewers):

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*North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, p. 78.

Interviewer Rating of Respondents' Ability With English	Number	Percentage
Native English Speaker	74	29
Perfect	42	17
Very Good	61	24
Adequate	33	13
Poor	26	10
Very Poor, None	18	7
TOTAL	254	100

For analytic purposes, we have characterized members of the last three classes, 30% of the study group, as having non-fluent English, and the balance as having fluent English.

The Migration

The respondents were asked to characterize their motivation for coming to the United States, in reply to a limited-choice question which the Canadian study had used earlier. The responses of the two study groups were as follows:

Motivation for Migration	U.S. Immigrants	Canadian Immigrants*
to improve economic position	56%	54%
to be near relatives or friends	27	10
desire for adventure and travel	11	18
political situation in former country	7	8
other	0	10
	101%	100%

These results are particularly interesting for two reasons:

- when motivation for immigration is explored, economic, not family considerations are paramount despite the fact that, in the U.S., most immigrants' admissions are facilitated by family ties; and;

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*Manpower & Immigration, Three Years in Canada, p. 127. We handled our coding slightly differently than the Canadians, forcing answers into the first four categories noted above. Nearly 10% of the U.S. responses grouped here under the economic heading related to a specific U.S. job opportunity, in some cases a job transfer to this country; in that specific case, the Canadian study labeled the response "other."

- U.S. and Canadian results are similar.

It should be borne in mind when examining these responses that close to two-thirds of the 1970 cohort of U.S. immigrants were admitted because petitions were filed for them by their U.S. relatives; a somewhat smaller percentage of the Canadians were admitted as relatives, hence, presumably the lower incidence of the relative motivation in the Canadian survey. The Canadian report contained the following comment on its findings:

> "In general, relatives or friends in Canada had less influence on the decision to emigrate than might have been expected, but had greater significance, naturally, among nominated immigrants than independent immigrants. Family ties were given as the reason by only 16 per cent of all nominated immigrants, a classification which was established specifically to broaden the range of relatives that Canadians and landed immigrants could help bring to Canada. Despite the fact that 55 per cent of immigrants received advance information about conditions in Canada from relatives or friends, less than 10 percent came to be near them. There was, moreover, no evidence of a strong desire to join relatives on the part of immigrants from countries where a modified form of the "extended" family system still exists. Persons from Greece, Portugal, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and India, for example, were actually more likely to give economic considerations than family ties as their reasons for emigrating."*

Among the U.S. immigrant respondents, 59% told us that they knew relatives in this country prior to immigration, a percentage which is more than twice as large as those who said that they wanted to be near those relatives. For analytic purposes, we have divided the study group into those who said they knew relatives in this country, hereafter "relatives," and the smaller group who did not know relatives, hereafter "non-relatives."

A number of the respondents were not making their first international move when they arrived in the U.S. as immigrants; some had previously lived and worked in a third nation (i.e., other than the U.S. and the country of birth); and almost half had at least visited the U.S., if not worked here, prior to securing their immigrant visa. Fifty-six of the respondents had worked in a third nation, 14 in Canada, 8 in the United Kingdom, and the rest scattered around the globe; two respondents had worked in two nations other than the U.S. and their country of origin.

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*Ibid., pp. 125-26.

A much larger group of respondents, 118 (47%) had been in the United States prior to securing their immigrant visa; most of this group had been here for a year or less, but 46 (18%) of the study group had been in the nation for periods ranging from a year to, in one case, ten years. Most of these prior visitors said that they were tourists during these visits to the U.S.

Interestingly, about ten percent of the respondents who had been in the nation before securing their immigrant visa had been here illegally; we did not ask this question directly, but did inquire at one point in the survey instrument about their visa status at the time, and at another point we asked them if they had worked in the U.S. before their arrival as immigrants. Eleven of the respondents said that they had worked before securing immigrant status with either tourist visas or no visa at all. The ten percent figure is undoubtedly a minimal one; some of the respondents must have fudged their answers to these questions or simply forgot these details.*

Labor Market Experiences

In the Country of Origin. Most of the respondents, who had a median age of about 29 on their arrival in the country, were experienced workers when they were admitted to the U.S. Of the 254, 217 told us that they had worked for one or more months in their homeland, with a median work experience of eight to nine years; in response to other questions, 218 identified their industry of employment in the old country, and 221 specified their occupation in the homeland; in addition, an overlapping group of 32 indicated some period of self-employment before emigration. Thus on the order of 88% of the study group had participated in the labor force prior to coming to the U.S., a rate almost as high as that which they experienced in the U.S. This was somewhat surprising, as our previous work with visa application and alien address data had given us the impression that a substantial number of the women among the arriving immigrants had not worked in the homeland, and had only entered the labor force after their arrival in the States.**

U.S. Labor Force Participation. Securing labor force participation data retrospectively is difficult, because the respondent must be asked an essentially two-part question: were you employed on date X, and if not employed were you or were you not looking for work? It is easier to recall the answer to the job part of the question than the seeking employment-or not seeking portion.

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*The use of the formal immigration process to legalize the presence of former illegal immigrants is described in more detail in Alejandro Portes, "Return of the Wetback," Society, April/May 1974.

**David S. North, Immigrants and the American Labor Market, Manpower Research Monograph No. 31 (Manpower Administration, 1974) pp. 33-34. (This monograph was based on the North and Weissert report of the same title cited earlier in this report.)

Nevertheless, the data in hand suggest that most of the respondents were in the labor force most of the time, except for 19 individuals who answered all U.S. labor market questions negatively. On this point, we asked the respondents how many years they had worked in the U.S., with these results:

Years Worked in the U.S.	Number	Percentage
seven or more years	174	69%
five or six years	31	12
three or four years	15	6
less than three years	15	6
nonworkers	19	7
TOTAL	254	100%

The respondents had been admitted to the country between 7.25 and 8.25 years before the interviews took place.

Obtaining the First Job. One measure of an immigrant's adaptation to the labor market is the length of time it takes to secure the first job, a measure pointed out to us by the Canadian study; the immigrants to Canada, whose arrival (in time) overlapped that of our respondents (1969 through 1971) secured their first job quickly, with 58% of the males and 55% of the females doing so within two weeks of arrival, and about 75% of both groups doing so within four weeks.*

The U.S. immigrant respondents were not quite as fast on their feet; only 42% had found jobs within two weeks; within four weeks, 62% of the study group had secured jobs. A substantial portion of the respondents, some 26% of them, presumably including many who had been in the nation before receiving their immigrant visa, knew their first employer before arriving as immigrants; interestingly, a larger percentage had a job lined up, 34% before their arrival, than said that they knew their employer before arrival. One assumes that some of these sight-unseen placements must have been made by relatives of the intending immigrants.

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*Three Years in Canada, pp. 32-33.

A comparison of the 34% with lined-up jobs and 62% securing jobs in the first four weeks suggests that many respondents arrived without pre-arranged work and then hustled into the labor market to secure work immediately after arrival.

Employment History: In the course of the interviews, we asked the respondents about their last job overseas before receiving their immigrant visa, their first job in the U.S. after obtaining that visa, the job they held in January 1972, the job held in January 1975, and the current (or most recent) job at the time of the fall 1977 interview.

In each instance, we asked about occupation and industry, number of days worked per week, hours per day, and weekly earnings. The data which follow are for the respondents as a group, and all changes described are net changes; thus if in the last job overseas 37 of the respondents worked as clerks, and in the first job in the U.S. 40 were similarly employed, it could mean that the 37 former clerks remained in the activity and were joined by three others who had worked in different occupation groups previously; it is more likely, however, that the net increase of three clerks indicated, to use some imagined numbers, that 20 clerks remained clerks when they came to the U.S., that 17 former clerks found other jobs, and that 20 respondents who had not been clerks previously moved into the field. Thus there would be a net gain of three, but this small net change would mask a great deal of occupation group movement--a subject to which we will return.

Industry: Table 25 suggests that there was not a great deal of net movement among industry groups resulting from the respondents' immigration. Between the last overseas job and the first U.S. job there was an increase in manufacturing employment, and a drop in services employment. Generally, the patterns set in the first U.S. job held, and the industrial distribution changed little over time, though the small groups of immigrants in agriculture and private household were reduced still further over the years.

Occupation: While there was relatively little net industry group movement, there was considerably more net movement among occupation groups, both between the last overseas job and the first U.S. job, and, in some instances, over time within the U.S. labor market. Table 26 shows a sharp drop in professional and technical employment following migration, and an even sharper drop, proportionally, for those who had been managers, proprietors, and owners overseas. Together, these two occupation groups accounted for about 47% of the respondents (with stated occupations) when they were overseas, but only 28% of them in their first U.S. job, clearly a drastic shift down the occupational ladder for many individuals.

TABLE 25

Distribution of Industry of Immigrant Respondents, Overseas and in U.S., and of U.S. Workers Generally, 1975

(as percent of group responding)

INDUSTRY	LAST JOB OVERSEAS	FIRST U.S. JOB	U.S. JOB IN JANUARY 1972	U.S. JOB IN JANUARY 1975	CURRENT OR MOST RECENT U.S. JOB	U.S. WORKERS 1975
Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries	3.7%	2.6%	2.6%	1.9%	1.4%	4.1%
Mining	0.9	0.4	0	0.5	0.5	0.8
Contract Construction	3.7	3.0	2.1	5.2	4.1	5.9
Manufacturing	24.8	30.2	32.8	30.5	31.7	22.7
Transportation & Communication	8.7	4.7	3.7	5.2	6.0	6.6
Trade: Wholesale and Retail	11.5	14.7	12.7	10.5	11.0	20.6
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	6.0	6.9	8.5	10.0	8.7	5.5
Services, except Private Household	37.6	34.1	36.5	34.8	35.3	26.4
Household Services	2.3	3.4	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.6
Public Administration	0.5	0	0	0	0	5.6
Miscellaneous	0.5	0	0	0.5	0.5	0
TOTAL	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.8
No. of Respondents	218	232	189	210	218	84,783,000

Source: Immigrant data from TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey; data on U.S. workers from Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1976, Table 591.

TABLE 26

Distribution of Occupation of Immigrant Respondents, Overseas and in U.S., and of U.S. Employed Persons, 1976

(as percent of group responding)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	LAST JOB OVERSEAS	FIRST U.S. JOB	U.S. JOB IN JANUARY 1972	U.S. JOB IN JANUARY 1975	CURRENT OR MOST RECENT U.S. JOB	U.S. EMPLOYED PERSONS 1976
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	35.3	23.6	25.1	27.4	26.8	15.2
Managers, Proprietors & Owners	11.3	3.9	5.2	10.4	11.8	10.6
Sales Workers	5.0	3.0	4.7	2.8	2.7	6.3
Clerical & Kindred Workers	17.2	17.2	17.8	16.5	14.1	17.8
Craft & Kindred Workers	13.1	14.2	12.0	12.8	12.7	12.9
Operatives, except Transport	4.1	14.2	15.7	12.3	12.7	11.5
Transport Equipment Operatives	1.4	1.3	2.1	1.9	2.3	3.7
Laborers, except Farm	2.7	5.2	3.1	2.4	3.6	4.9
Farm Occupations*	2.3	2.1	2.1	1.4	0.9	3.2
Service Workers, except Private Household	5.4	12.0	11.0	11.3	11.4	12.4
Private Household Workers	2.3	3.4	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.3
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	99.8	100.1	99.9	99.8
Number of Respondents	221	233	191	212	220	87,485,000

*Includes farmer, farm manager; farm labor, supervisor (the respondents were farm laborers)

Source: Immigrant data from TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey; data on U.S. employed persons from Employment & Training Report of the President, 1977, Table A-33

To compensate for these migration-caused changes, there were drastic net increases among operatives and other service workers, with some lesser upward movements in other groups.

With the passage of time, some interesting trends are visible, again on a net basis. There was some post-arrival increase in the number of professional jobs, a sharp increase, to above average U.S. levels, among the managers, proprietors and owners, while the household servants and farmworkers drifted into other lines of work. The number of respondents in occupations noted in the middle of the chart--sales, clerical work and crafts--remained fairly steady over the years.

Looking at the data another way, one can compare the percentage of respondents reporting white collar jobs for each time unit; the figure fell from 68.8% in the last overseas job to 47.7% in the first U.S. job, and then rose slowly to 55.4% for the current or most recent job, a figure above that of the U.S. work force generally (50.1%).

Thus the overall picture which emerges is of considerable net occupational group movement, with much of the initial movement downwards, followed by some degree of recovery over time; the differing patterns among the subsets of the respondents and the specific adjustments made by individual respondents will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Hours and Days Worked-Earnings: Table 27 indicates that while most of the respondents had worked 8-hour days in their overseas jobs, as well as in the U.S., the five-day week was a brand-new, and presumably welcome, feature of their lives. The sharp drop in days worked brought about a comparable drop in hours worked per week; respondents who had been accustomed to 50-hour work weeks reported 41-42 hour work weeks in their U.S. jobs, on average.

Hours of work data for the study group cannot be compared with rigor to those of other elements in the U.S. labor force, but it is interesting that the respondents appear to be working about six hours a week longer than U.S. production and nonsupervisory workers generally (who logged 35.9 hours a week on average in 1975) and only a couple of hours less a week than the illegal aliens in the North-Houstoun study.*

There were few part-time workers among the respondents; for example, in their most recent job, only a dozen of the 221 supplying data on hours of work indicated that they were working six hours or less per day; and eight of those were working six hours a day.

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*North and Houstoun, Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens, pp. 124-127.

TABLE 27

Mean Hours and Days Worked and Median Earnings Reported by Immigrant Respondents, Overseas and in U.S

	LAST JOB OVERSEAS	FIRST U.S. JOB	U.S. JOB IN JANUARY 1972	U.S. JOB IN JANUARY 1975	CURRENT OR MOST RECENT U.S. JOB
Mean Hours Worked Per Day	8.29	8.26	8.10	8.30	8.26
Mean Days Worked Per Week	6.07	5.03	5.16	5.08	5.08
Mean Hours Worked Per Week	50.32	41.54	41.79	42.19	41.96
Median Weekly Income (Unadjusted dollars)	$44.67	$107.71	$151.93	$177.95	$237.85
Median Weekly Income (1970 Dollars)	$44.67*	$107.71	$141.14	$128.48	$152.46

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey; 1970 dollars adapted from Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 122.

*In most instances, the respondents supplied this information in U.S. dollars. In about 10% of the cases, the reply was expressed in the currency of the homeland; in these instances, we converted the results to dollars using the rate of exchange prevailing at the time.

Perhaps the most stunning difference between working overseas and working in the United States is the financial rewards for work. Not only did the work week drop by a day, and the hours worked a week by about 10, between the last foreign job and the first U.S. one, but the wages increased by 140%. On the other hand, this is a gross wage comparison, and the differing costs of living in the old country and the new one are not included in these calculations; further, while the one-time migration-caused leap in gross earnings was followed by further increases, between the first job and the January 1972 job, inflation seriously impacted the post-1972 earnings pattern of the study group.

As suggested earlier, the respondents appear to be better paid than the Social Security subsample described earlier; using constant 1975 dollars, we can compare the subsample's 1975 earnings with the study group's 1976 earnings, which are markedly larger:

	Median 1975 Earnings of SSA Subsample	Median 1976 Earnings of Study Group (in 1975 dollars)
Males	$9,515	$14,359
Females	4,879	7,650

Training: A large majority of the respondents have received formal training in the United States, and an even larger majority have secured formal education or training in the U.S. or overseas to prepare for their careers. Regarding training in the United States, 65% (or 165) of the respondents said that they had taken courses of instruction. Of these individuals, 114 had taken vocational training, 69 had been instructed in English, and 64 had studied other subjects; many had engaged in more than one of these categories of education.

When the broader question was raised about career training either in the U.S. or overseas, 80% of the respondents indicated that they had such training, with 51% of those with training being trained in the professions, 17% in crafts, 12% in clerical work, with the balance scattered. Since those with at least some training for the professions numbered 104, and since those working as professionals numbered only 78 in the home country, and no more than 59 at any time in the U.S., this indicated, in this field at least, either a substantial underutilization of training, a substantial amount of uncompleted training, or both.

Many of the respondents were aware of this; when asked "did you ever work in this occupation (for which training was secured) in the U.S.?" 36% indicated that they had not done so. Not all who did not use their training were unhappy about it, having apparently found other acceptable work, for when we asked "Are you doing the type of work you had hoped to do in the U.S.?" only 28% responded negatively.

Unemployment: In order to obtain unemployment data, the respondents were asked, for each year of interest, the number of weeks in which they were out of work and seeking work. Table 28 shows the total weeks of unemployment reported, the number of respondents unemployed for ten weeks or more, and respondent and overall U.S. unemployment rates. The picture which emerges appears to be that in the first year the respondents suffered higher unemployment rates than the U.S. population generally, but quickly recovered, and their incidence of unemployment fell in the next four years as they learned their way around the labor market, only to rise again (but not to national levels) as they encountered the recession starting in 1975.

Other Labor Market Data: The respondents, by the fall of 1977, found jobs for themselves largely outside the ethnic work places where persons of similar nationality work together, often speaking their native language. A restaurant manned by a totally Chinese staff, or an agricultural setting in which all the workers are natives of Mexico are examples of these ethnic work places, which often offer less attractive wages and working conditions than more integrated places of employment.

We asked two questions to secure data on this subject; first, we asked "in your current place of employment, about how many other people of your own nationality work there?" Only 11% said that most of the people, more than half of the people, or half of them were of similar nationality--these we regard as ethnic work places; an additional 6% responded less than half; 35% replied "very few," and 45% said there were no other nationals employed, with the balance being five persons who worked alone.

Similarly, in response to a question on whether English was spoken at the place of employment, we secured these responses:

	Number	Percentage
Always	127	54%
Most of the time	48	20
Half and half	34	14
Occasionally	17	7
Never	9	4
TOTAL	235	100%

There appears to be a relatively small incidence of self-employment among the respondents; while 32 of them had been self-employed overseas at some time in their lives, only 22 of them had been self-employed, at any time, in the U.S., a dozen

TABLE 28

Weeks of Unemployment, Incidence of Long-Term Unemployment, and Unemployment Rates for Immigrant Respondents, and for the U.S., 1970-1977

Year	Person Weeks of Unemployment Reported by Respondents	Number of Respondents Unemployed for 10 or more weeks	Respondents' Unemployment Rates	U.S. Unemployment Rate
1970	967	20	8.0	4.9
1971	520	16	4.3	5.9
1972	361	10	2.9	5.6
1973	264	9	2.2	4.9
1974	275	7	2.2	5.6
1975	520	18	4.3	8.5
1976	510	20	4.2	7.7
1977	352	8	3.5	7.0

Source: Immigrant data from TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey; U.S. data from *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975*, Table 60 for the years 1970-1974; data for 1975-1977 secured by phone from BLS.

Note: Total weeks of unemployment for 1970 and 1977 have been adjusted upwards by 33% to compensate for the extent of arrivals after the beginning of calendar 1970 and for the reduced exposure in 1977, caused by the timing of the interviews, around October 1 of that year. Respondents' rates for each year are presumably somewhat understated, as they are calculated on the assumption of a 235-member labor force among the respondents, which is slightly generous; that estimate was obtained by subtracting the persistent non-workers (19) from the study group of 254.

of these for three years or less, and 10 for four years of more. Six respondents were both self-employed and employers of others, at the time of the interview, with 19 employees among them. In response to another question, 16 respondents said that they received some self-employment income in 1976, which would be roughly equal to the incidence of self-employed workers in the U.S. generally.

As for union membership, 31% of the respondents said that they were, or had been, union members.

The Respondents' Reactions to Life in the U.S.

We asked a number of questions to gauge the study group's feelings about their U.S. experiences; knowing that there would be a human tendency to tell the interviewer what the respondent thought the interviewer wanted to hear, the questions were asked in several ways, some directly, some indirectly.

In three of the direct questions, we asked the respondents to use a five-part scale to compare their current job, their current housing conditions, and their general quality of life to the best experiences they had in these areas before arriving in the U.S. The scale is shown in Table 29.

Clearly, most of the respondents felt that things were much better or better in the U.S., and only a small minority used the worse or much worse replies; one would expect that the respondents (who had, by definition, not voted with their feet by leaving the U.S.) would be positive about their experience here. What is more interesting is their differing levels of enthusiasm about various aspects of American life.

In order to measure that variable, we scaled the percentage of "much better" responses as two, the "betters" as one, the "about the sames" as zero, the "worses" as minus one, and the "much worses" as minus two, and from this and the replies in Table 29 we constructed a contentment index. The respondents, in short, are happier about their work, where the index is 93, than they are about quality of life in general, with an index of 77; housing, with an index of 60, is the least attractive in the eyes of the study group.*

The indirect measures of respondents' contentment included questions about U.S. citizenship and the extent to which the respondents had encouraged others to come to this country. A respondent who opts to become a citizen and one who helps a lands-

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*Most of the respondents, 58%, in the great American tradition, live in a mortgaged house, 26% in apartments, 9% in rented houses, 3% in owned-outright houses, 2% in employer-provided housing, and the balance in other arrangements.

TABLE 29

Respondents' Judgments of Differences Between Life in Old Country and U.S.

(as percents of group responding)

EXPERIENCE IN U.S. IS:	Comparison of Best Overseas Job to Current U.S. Job	Comparison of Quality of Life in U.S. to that Overseas	Comparison of Housing Conditions to That Experienced Overseas
Much Better	34%	23%	24%
Better	35	43	36
About the Same	23	24	28
Worse	6	8	9
Much Worse	2	2	3
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%
No. of Respondents	213	244	254
Contentment Index	92	77	69

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey

Note: See text for contentment index methodology.

man to come to this country is stating, in obvious terms, relative satisfaction with this nation.

Although all of the respondents had been eligible for citizenship for years, only 46% of them had sought naturalization; this is a lengthy process, and an underfunded one, so it is no surprise that half of the 46% were still waiting for their citizenship when we interviewed them.

We asked three questions about their relations with others regarding migration to the U.S.; we asked, "did you encourage others to migrate?" Did you file papers for them (i.e., petitions with INS)?" And, finally, "did you give or lend them money?" As one might expect, the incidence of positive responses was higher for the first question, 32% than for the second, 19%, or the third, 15%.

1976 Income

We secured 1976 income data on 195 of the respondents, but decided to exclude from our calculations those of a male, Canadian-born M.D., whose $250,000 income would skew the financial data for the sub-groups of which he was a member. The mean income for the remaining 194 was $13,442. (That statistic would be increased by more than $1,000 had the Canadian M.D.'s income remained in the calculations.)

As Table 30 indicates, the most common form of income, by far, was wages and salaries, with 184 respondents reporting such income, showing a mean of $12,868. Next most common was interest and dividends, with 56 respondents reporting a mean of $744.

Examined another way--from the point of view of the income sources of the group of 194--return for labor (wages and salaries and self-employment income) amounted to 95.8% of their income; return for savings (interest, dividends, rental income, and capital gains) came to 2.2%; and income transfer programs (unemployment insurance, social security, supplemental security income (SSI),* and other welfare) came to only 1.3% of the group's income. The remaining 0.7% were in miscellaneous categories.

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*A recent General Accounting Office report, dealing with a very different sample of arriving immigrants than ours (those members of the FY 1973, 1974, and 1975 cohorts who were more than 65 years of age upon arrival), estimated that 34.3% of the latter group were receiving SSI payments by December 31, 1976. See, Report to the Congress, Number of Newly Arrived Aliens Who Receive Supplemental Security Income Needs to be Reduced, February 22, 1978.

TABLE 30

Summary of Immigrant Respondents' 1976 Income

Type of Income	Incidence	Mean	Standard Deviation
Gross Wages and Salaries	183	$12,868	$8,897
Interest or Dividend Income	56	744	2,467
Unemployment Insurance	15	1,926	1,562
Self Employed Business Income	11	13,029	17,141
Rental Income	10	1,567	1,066
Social Security or Railroad Retirement	1	600	-
Welfare Payments	1	2,200	-
Supplemental Security Income	1	2,112	-
Capital Gains	1	700	-
Other Income	8	2,230	1,444
Total Income in 1976	194	13,442	9,704

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey.

These data on income should be differentiated from the previously mentioned 1976 earnings data, which will be used extensively in the balance of this chapter. The 1976 earnings data are drawn from answers to two closely related questions, to which overlapping subsets of the respondents replied. When the immigrants supplied us with gross wage and salary data for 1976 (as shown in Table 30) we used it for 1976 earnings; in 28 instances in which those data were not supplied, we had answers to the question, "what is your current or most recent weekly earnings?" Those data extrapolated to an annual rate, were used as proxies for 1976 earnings. In this way, we were able to secure recent earnings data on a broader group of respondents then we could secure from the replies to either of the two questions alone.

II. Subsets Within the Study Group

In this section, we examine the differing characteristics of segments of the study group, as well as mean 1976 earnings levels along the lines of the personal, migration, and labor market variables previously described. Cross tabulations of the question responses were run with each of five different characteristics with the levels noted below:

		Respondents	
Characteristics	Levels	Number	Percent
Sex	Male	148	58.3
	Female	106	41.7
Region of Origin (Nationality)	Eastern Hemisphere	110	44.4
	Canada	34	13.7
	Mexico	29	11.7
	Other Western Hemisphere	75	30.2
Relative Status	Relative	149	59.1
	Non-Relative	103	40.9
Skill with English	Fluent	177	69.7
	Non-Fluent	77	30.3
Years of Education	12 years or less	128	51.2
	13 years or more	122	48.8

(Note that these observations cannot be interpreted either independently or as cause and effect. A more detailed analysis of the data, including attention to interactions, could provide additional insights. For example, a characteristic attributed to the non-fluent might be better attributed to service workers, both of which groups are heavily Mexican.) Note further, missing observations cause some of the totals above to vary slightly from the total of 254.

Personal Characteristics

The personal characteristics we examined included sex, age, several family characteristics, several educational variables, and fluency in English. In terms of age, respondents in the 35-44 age range earned more money than older ones and considerably more than younger ones:

Age Group	Respondents Number	Respondents Percent	Mean 1976 Earnings	Standard Deviation
25-34	75	34	$11,936	$7,154
35-44	89	38	14,358	10,181
45-67	63	28	13,018	10,697
Group Total	222	100	13,160	9,446

We note the relative youth of the Mexican respondents; almost half of them were under 35. Similarly, women were slightly younger than men in the sample, with the median age being 38, as opposed to 40.

The earnings of the Mexico-born subset of respondents was remarkably lower than those of the other respondents, $7,468, compared to $10,741 for the other Western Hemisphere respondents, $16,074 for those from the Eastern Hemisphere, and $17,600 for the Canadians.

In terms of marital status and number of children, respondents from Mexico had a higher incidence of marriage and more children than the other respondents; similarly, non-fluent respondents and those with 12 years of education or less were more likely to be married, and more likely to have large families. Predictably, the largest families were the ones with the smallest earnings:

Number of Children	Number	Percent	Mean 1976 Earnings	Standard Deviation
none	73	33	$12,252	$8,924
1-3	131	59	13,939	9,996
4 or more	18	8	11,166	6,797
Group Total	222	100	13,160	9,446

Similarly, the minority of immigrants who continue to support relatives overseas earn about $1,000 less a year than those who make no such payments; males, those from Mexico (and to a lesser extent other Western Hemisphere immigrants), and those nonfluent in English were more likely to support people in their homelands than other respondents.

The male respondents had more years of schooling than the females, with 56% of the former, compared to 40% of the latter, reporting 13 or more years. Canadians had the most education, with 67% in the 13-plus class, and Mexican respondents the least, with 62% of them reporting 0-8 years. Non-relatives were only slightly better educated than relatives.

The relationship between years of education and 1976 earnings was clear and direct:

Years of Education	Number	Percent	1976 Mean Earnings	Standard Deviation
0-8	44	20	$ 8,525	$5,721
9-12	60	27	11,454	9,453
13-16	67	31	14,566	10,218
17-25	48	22	17,585	9,131
Group Total	219	100%	13,162	9,502

In response to the question about occupational training, more than 80% of the respondents said that they had received some such training, and about half of them said that they had received training in one of the professions. The incidence of males and females among those receiving professional training was about equal (at just over 50%), but the Eastern Hemisphere respondents (69%) and those from Canada (50%) reported higher incidences than others. Nonrelatives (56%) were more likely to be so trained than relatives (47%).

The receipt of occupational training was apparently rewarded in the market place, as these 1976 earnings data indicate:

Respondent Subgroup	Number of Respondents	1976 Mean Earnings	Standard Deviation
Total with Occupational Training	180	$14,222	$9,887
Those with Professional Training	95	16,667	10,969
Those with Manager/Proprietor Training	8	17,512	9,647
Total with Earnings	222	13,160	9,446

The crosstabulations on English fluency produced some puzzling results; we had expected that there would be a strong positive relationship between years of education and ability with the language, and a strong negative one between knowing relatives in this country and speaking English well; these relationships turned out to be only marginal; those speaking English fluently, for example, had only half a year's more education (13 years versus 12.5 years) than those who did not speak fluently. Our expectations regarding labor market reaction to fluency turned out to be accurate; the fluent respondents earned a mean of $14,503 in 1976; the non-fluent ones, only $9,159. We compared linguistic background on another basis, finding that those whose native language was English earned $15,419, compared to those who studied English in their homeland, $13,286, and those who did not study it there, $10,974.

The Migration

Sharply different levels of 1976 earnings appear when the study group is divided along the lines of their motivation for coming to the U.S. The percentage of the responses and the mean earnings of those offering the responses follow:

Motive	Number	Percent	1976 Mean Earnings	Standard Deviation
to improve economic position	128	58	$14,616	$10,818
to be near relatives or friends	50	23	9,499	6,905
desire for adventure or travel	26	12	14,007	7,011
political situation in homeland	17	8	11,730	5,810
TOTAL---------	221	101%	13,164	9,468

Women were more likely to cite familial or desire-for-adventure motivations than men, while men were more likely than women to cite economic or political considerations. By regions of origin, the Mexico-born respondents were most likely to cite familial reasons, those from elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere to cite economic reasons, while one-third of the Canadians told us (within the economic motivation response) that they had been transferred to jobs in the U.S. The better educated respondents were twice as likely as the less well educated to cite either adventure or political motivations for their migration decision.

Perhaps the most interesting cross tabulation was for those who said that they had known relatives in this country; 52% said that their motivation for coming to the country was to improve their economic status, another 10% cited political or adventure reasons, leaving only 39% of this group who stated that their motivation for migration was to be near friends and relatives.

As we indicated earlier, many of our respondents had previous migration experiences before coming to the United States as resident aliens. Generally, those with such experiences earned more money in the U.S. in 1976 than those without such exposure. The three questions we asked dealt with work in a third nation before coming to the U.S., time spent in the U.S. prior to receiving an immigrant visa, and time spent working in the U.S. prior to arrival as an immigrant.

Those who had worked in a third country earned more in 1976 than those who had not: $16,790 compared to $12,139. More than three times as many men as women had this experience (31% vs. 9%), and Canadians and migrants from the Eastern Hemisphere were more likely than respondents from elsewhere to have worked in a third nation. Similarly, such overseas work was experienced more often by the more educated, by those more fluent in English, and by the nonrelatives than by others.

Being in the U.S. prior to receiving an immigrant visa carried with it good omens for future earnings, by a margin of $14,578 to $11,976; Canadians and Mexicans were more likely to report such visits than others, but the other comparisons were not meaningful.

Actually working in the U.S. produced something of a mixed bag of earnings levels with those who did not work here prior to securing immigrant status earning $14,887, those who worked for less than a year making $15,731 in 1976, and those who had worked here for more than a year, interestingly, receiving $13,286.

Labor Market Experiences

In the Country of Origin: Most of the respondents had worked in the country of origin, and this was apparently marginally beneficial in terms of 1976 earnings; those with such experience had mean earnings of $13,863 or about $1,000 a year above the mean earnings of the study group as a whole. There were no significant patterns among the subgroups on this variable.

Obtaining the First U.S. Job: Apparently the qualities which help one line up a job quickly in the U.S. are the same ones which assure higher earnings years later. Thus the minority of migrants who had a job lined up prior to admission (a group in which Canadians and males were disproportionately represented) earned more in 1976, $16,307, than those who did not have such contacts at the time of admission; they earned $11,607. Another test was how many weeks passed between admission and starting the first job; men, Canadians, and those fluent with the language moved the most rapidly, with 37% of the men securing a job within a week of admission and 22% of the women securing their initial job within a week.

Occupational Movement: While we had occupation group data for five points in time, making a number of comparisons possible, we found the most useful to be the comparison between the last job in the old country and the job held by the respondent at the time of the interview. By the fall of 1977, the respondents had close to eight years to adjust to the U.S. labor market, and presumably most of those who were destined to recover from downward occupational adjustment had done so by that time.

The data, which recorded net movements, indicate that occupational group adjustments, particularly those out of white collar work, were not distributed evenly among the subsets within the study group; women and those nonfluent in English were more likely to experience such changes than men or those fluent in English, as Table 31 shows.

Thus while 34% of the men and 37% of the women reported that their last job in the old country was professional or technical, some 30% of the men, but only 20% of the women reported holding such a job at the time of the interview. (These percentages are of those who were working at the time, and thus withdrawal from the labor market was not a factor.) In addition, the percentage of women with clerical jobs dropped from 31% to 23%, while that of men remained approximately the same, 8%. While there was some movement out of professional work for those fluent in English--a drop from 43% to 36%--there was a much sharper drop for those not fluent in English; 18% of the latter group said that they had held professional jobs in the old country, but only 2% had such jobs at the time of the interview. The heavy concentrations of the non-fluent in manual labor, which was expected, is also shown in Table 31.

Perhaps the most interesting tabulation regarding occupational group movement related to years of education; it indicates that while 11% of those with 12 years of education or less had professional positions in the old country, only 3% of them had such positions in this country at the time of the interview. The percentages for those in the professions with 13 or more years of education also dropped, from 61% to 48%. Thus many of those leaving professional positions had experienced no more than a high school education; one presumes that their movement into non-professional activities was an appropriate adjustment to the realities of the U.S. labor market, and that there is no clear indication that their skills were underutilized. It is the other group, the respondents with 13 years or more of education, who are a more appropriate target for our concern.

TABLE 31

Net Occupational Group Movement of Respondents Between Last Job in Old Country (1969) and Job at Time of Interview (1977), by Sex, Fluency in English, and Years of Education

(as percent of group responding)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	SEX				FLUENCY IN ENGLISH				YEARS OF EDUCATION			
	MALE		FEMALE		FLUENT		NON-FLUENT		12 YEARS OR LESS		13 YEARS OR MORE	
	1969 Job	1977 Job	1969 Job	1977 Job	1969 Job	1977 Job	1969 Job	1977 Job	1969 Job	1977 Job	1969 Job	1977 Job
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	34%	30%	37%	20%	43%	36%	18%	2%	11%	3%	61%	48%
Managers, Proprietors, & Owners	15	14	5	8	14	15	6	3	12	11	10	13
Sales Workers	4	2	6		6	4	2	0	5	2	5	4
Clerical & Kindred Workers	8	9	31	23	16	14	20	15	21	13	14	15
Craft & Kindred Workers	21	17	1	5	8	8	24	25	20	20	6	6
Operatives, Except Transport	4	12	3	14	3	7	8	28	6	22	1	5
Transport Equipment Operatives	1	3	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	0	2
Laborers, Except Farm	3	5	2	1	2	3	5	5	5	6	0	2
Farm Occupations*	4	1	0	1	1	1	5	2	5	2	0	0
Service Workers, except Private Household	4	6	8	21	5	9	8	17	8	17	3	6
Private Household Workers	0	0	6	3	1	1	5	0	5	2	0	0
TOTAL	98%	99%	100%	101%	100%	100%	103%	100%	101%	101%	100%	101%
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	134	140	87	80	155	160	66	60	111	101	106	115

*Includes farmers and farm managers, and farm laborers and supervisors.

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey.

Regarding hours and days of work, men tended to work both more hours in the day and more days a week than women, both in their homeland and in their current U.S. job. The group reporting the longest work week in the old country were the respondents from Mexico; a majority reported working more than five days a week, and more than eight hours a day in their homeland. Immigration changed that, for only 17% of these respondents reported working more than eight hours a day in their current job, a slightly smaller percentage than the study group as a whole.

Longer hours relates directly to higher wages; those who work seven hours a day or less received $11,853, on average, in 1976; those with eight hour days, $13,110; and those with more than eight hours a day, $15,534.

Training in the U.S. also correlated with higher incomes; those with such training earned about $3,000 a year more than those without it. It was also true, however, that education begets education; thus those with 13 or more years of education were almost twice as likely to report such U.S. training as those with less education (84% compared to 48%).

The ethnic work places mentioned earlier were much more likely to be experienced by Mexican than non-Mexican respondents; 52% of the former were in such places of employment, compared to the total study group's percentage of 11%. Further, and understandably, those nonfluent in English were much more likely (27%) to be employed in such places than those fluent in the language (5%).

The distribution of unemployment among the subsets was relatively equitable, with men and women and those with more and those with less education, reporting approximately the same incidence of it. This relatively equitable distribution of unemployment is contrary to the general U.S. experience, in which some groups, such as Blacks, and particularly center-city Black teenagers, experience much more unemployment than other workers; in this study, however, there were no teenagers, and Blacks were not identified for separate analysis. Canadians and those fluent in English were somewhat less likely to be unemployed than others, however.

Reactions to Life in the U.S.

Table 32 displays the varying reactions of subsets of the study group to the previously described set of three questions regarding the degree of contentment with the U.S.; the table also shows, for the same subsets, the percentage of those who have sought to become citizens, as well as the adjusted (1969 dollars) increase in wages between the last job in the old country and the job at the time of the interview.

Men, generally, were more contented than women, were slightly more likely to seek citizenship--and reported a somewhat higher increase in earnings than women. Canadians had the lowest contentment scores, almost miniscule increases in real income, and were unlikely to apply for citizenship; Mexicans, on the other hand, although also unlikely to seek naturalization, reported

TABLE 32

Distribution of Contentment Indices,* the Difference Between Overseas (1969) Wages and 1977 U.S. Wages (adjusted to 1969 dollars), and the Percentage of Respondents Seeking U.S. Citizenship, by Selected Characteristics

Respondent Characteristics	Job Contentment Index	Quality of Life Index	Housing Contentment Index	Adjusted 1977 Wages as % of Overseas Wages**	Percent of Respondents Seeking Citizenship
				(as percents)	
Male	95	88	75	316.0	48
Female	73	66	64	292.6	43
Eastern Hemisphere	106	87	86	404.4	59
Canada	71	35	39	106.8	24
Mexico	99	113	84	479.2	14
Other Western Hemisphere	78	74	52	294.3	47
Relative	89	82	66	313.8	43
Non-Relative	100	76	78	337.4	52
Fluent	93	74	68	261.8	51
Non-Fluent	88	90	77	400.4	35
12 or Less Years of Education	99	81	70	303.6	39
13 or More Years of Education	86	74	72	243.7	53
ENTIRE STUDY GROUP	92	77	69	322.1	46

*See page 89 for contentment index methodology. (The potential range of the indices is from +200 to -200.)

**Respondents median weekly wages were used in these calculations.

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey; the 1969 dollar adjustment rate was computed from Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975, Table 122, with updated 1977 rate supplied by BLS.

substantial increases in real income, and had the highest contentment indices.

Since those fluent in English and those with more education were more likely to seek citizenship than their opposite numbers, it should be no surprise that those who did so would have a higher income than those who did not, by a margin of about $2,000 a year.

Regression Analysis of 1976 Earnings

We performed a series of step-wise linear regression analyses modeling the 1976 earnings of the respondents, using the following variables at the indicated levels (by means of dummy variables). The variables selected were chosen because they were regarded as potential predictors of income, and because they are available from (or potentially available from) visa applications.

Variables	Levels
Sex	Male
	Female
Region of Origin	Eastern Hemisphere
	Canada
	Other Western Hemisphere
	Mexico
Years of Education	13 years or more
	12 years or less
English Fluency	Fluent
	Non-fluent
Age Groupings (at last birthday)	45 and over
	35-44
	25-34
Relative Status	Non-relative
	Relative
Occupation Group	Professional and Technical
	Manager, Proprietor, Owner
	Sales Worker
	Clerical & Kindred Worker
	Craft & Kindred Worker
	Operative, except Transport
	Transport Operative
	Non-farm Laborer
	Service Worker, except Household
	Private Household Worker
	Farm Laborer and Supervisor

In each instance, the base levels (against which the earnings of other segments of the study group were compared) were the last level listed above. We ran four regressions for the first six variables alone; for those six plus occupation group in country of origin; for those six plus occupational group in country of origin and in the most recent U.S. job; and finally for the first six and for occupation group in the most recent job.

The most powerful predictor among the variables was Sex (being male was worth between $5,000 and $6,500 in each of the various regressions.)

The model which was best in the sense that it balanced simplicity and explanatory power contained only four independent variables and yielded the following estimates of variable level values versus their base levels:

Variable	Estimated Value	Standard Error
Male	$6,394	$1,061
13 or more years of education	3,080	1,081
Eastern Hemisphere	4,797	1,136
Canada	4,815	1,672

(The printout for this model and for the summary tables are shown in Appendix B.)

In other words, with all other variables held constant, it is estimated that men earned $6394 more than women; those with 13 or more years of education earned $3,080 more than those with 12 years or less; and immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and Canada earned about $4,800 more than those from Mexico. All of these coefficients were found to be different from zero at the .05 level of significance. Note, however, that examination of the summary table indicates that these four variables together explain only 27% of the variation in 1976 income. The only occupational group variable with appreciable significance in any of the models was the indicator for being a Manager, Proprietor or Owner in the most recent U.S. job; that was estimated to be worth $7,853 more than being a farmworker, again all other variables being held constant. (In this instance, the standard error of the estimator was $3,743.)

Note that although non-relative status and particularly fluency in English were shown to be positively related to earnings in the univariate analysis earlier in this Chapter, they did not enter the step-wise regression until steps five and six, respectively, and even then their F values were not statistically significant. This is clearly due to the relationships between these two variables and the variables of education and of region of origin (i.e., once the four stronger variables, those used in the best model, were taken into consideration, the supplemental value of non-relative status and fluency were marginal).

A review of the regression analysis as a whole leads one to conclude that there may be other variables which are powerful predictors of earnings but which were not available in this model. This could, of course, include variables considered by the survey instrument and not included in the regression, but it seems more likely that they would be factors which were not measured (and which may not be measurable) such as aggression, diligence, intelligence, social skills, range of contacts, skin color, and physical appearance.

III. Individual Occupational Progressions

The Literature. A number of writers on immigration matters have expressed concern about the underutilization of the experience, skills, and training of immigrants to the U.S.; this concern can stem from two orientations, a sense that the nation is not making appropriate use of the human capital available to it and a sense that individual aliens are experiencing discrimination in the market place. As Parlin points out, immigrants are members of a "hidden minority" who may lawfully be discriminated against by private employers, while similar discrimination against members of the "popular minorities" (Blacks and Chicanos) is contrary to law.*

Among those dealing with the subject is Chiswick, who suggested the following hypotheses guiding occupational progression:

> "1. Immigrants experience a decline in occupational status when their last job in the country of origin is compared with their first job in the U.S.
>
> "2. The occupational status of immigrants increases after their first job in the U.S.
>
> "3. The U-shaped pattern of occupational change is weaker for immigrants from countries similar to the U.S. (e.g., Canada, Britain) than it is for immigrants from countries that differ more in language, occupational requirements, and labor market structure (e.g., non-English speaking countries).
>
> "4. The U-shaped pattern of occupational change is stronger for immigrants who are primarily refugees (e.g., Cubans) than for immigrants who are primarily economic migrants (e.g., other non-English speaking countries)."

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*Bradley W. Parlin, Immigrant Professionals in the United States: Discrimination in the Scientific Labor Market (New York: Praeger, 1976), p. 58).

**Barry R. Chiswick, "The Occupational Mobility of Immigrants to the United States: A Preliminary Longitudinal Analysis," paper presented at the Industrial Relations Research Association Winter Meeting, December 1977, New York City, pp. 3-4.

His findings from census data include the following:

> "Thus, the high rate of occupational change among immigrants in the U.S. less than 5 years is disproportionately downward mobility. That is, compared to their occupation in the country of origin, their early occupation in the U.S. is of a lower status. Immigrants from Cuba and Mexico experienced greater occupational change and greater downward mobility than immigrants from other countries....
>
> "Among immigrants who arrived in the U.S. between 1950 and 1964, 22 percent were in a different major occupational category in 1970 than in 1965. Compared to more recent immigrants, the occupational mobility was more likely to be upward, with the net upward mobility greater for those in the U.S. 6 to 10 years than for those here 10 to 20 years."*

In our previous discussions of net occupational group movement of the respondents, we have shown employment patterns which support his first two hypotheses (see pp. 81-83 of this report), as well as less frequent incidence of the U-shaped patterns for those who are fluent in English (page 98), which would tend to support the third hypothesis. We did not obtain data on political refugees per se.**

Other writers have focused on different aspects of post-arrival occupational adjustments; the Canadian study, which did not deal with pre-migration occupational distributions, showed an increase in the managerial, professional, and technical category from 30% of their study group after one year in the country to 44% after three years (our data showed a roughly comparable trend, from 20% in that category in the first job to 38% five years later).*** Focusing on the last job in the homeland-first job in the U.S. comparison, Portes* found for a group of Cuban exiles arriving in Florida in the winter of 1973-74, that only 31% of his sample maintained their occupational level (using a definition different from either Chiswick's or ours) while 60% reported a decline (apparently leaving 9% who increased their status); Parlin** documents a case study (written from within the personnel department of one of America's industrial giants), showing how immigrant graduates of major U.S. universities are systematically discriminated against in the hiring process. While Parlin's study group was considerably different from ours, his inside-the-system description of anti-immigrant discrimination deals with an important and troublesome subject more effectively than we can.

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*_Ibid_., p. 10.

**It should be borne in mind, however, that our data were not confined, as were Chiswick's, to white males; and that he described a four-category grouping of occupations, as opposed to our 11-unit grouping; further, his condensed categories masked occupational group movements which we would regard as upward, such as from household servant to operative and from farm laborer to operative (since these groups were placed in the same category). On this point, Chiswick, on May 1, 1978 wrote to the author "Chiswick's U-shaped pattern for occupational change involves two stages: a decline in occupational status when the comparison is between "last" occupation in country of origin and "first" occupation in the U.S. and a rise in occupational status when the comparison is between "first" occupation and "current" occupation in the U.S. There is no implication as to whether the "last" occupation is at a higher or lower status than the "current" occupation. North's concave pattern is far more stringent. It implies "last" and "current" occupation are at the same occupational level." But despite these methodological differences, which make the statistics non-comparable, the general thrust of his hypotheses is supported by our data.

***Manpower and Immigration, _Three Years in Canada_, p. 38.

The Individual Progressions: In order to analyze the occupational group changes of the respondents, we first had to identify those on whom we had data on two or more jobs as well as 1976 earnings information; these data were available on 209 respondents. Secondly, it was necessary to make some judgments as to what constituted upward, downward, and level occupational group movements, a movement being a single transition from one job to the next. Our essentially subjective decisions are displayed in Table 33, which covers movements among 11 occupational groups. (The twelfth group normally found in such an array, farmers and farm managers, was eliminated because none of our 209 respondents so identified themselves in any of the jobs described.) Regarding the movements, we decided, for example, that a transfer from the Professional, Technical, Kindred group to any other occupational group, save that of Managers, Proprietors, and Owners, was a downward movement, the latter being a level one. On the other hand, any movement out of household or farm work was a sign of upward mobility, unless the movement was the level one between these two, bottom-of-the-labor-market categories. Some movements, such as between Crafts and Sales, fit into no readily discernible pattern, and were simply labeled "other;" fortunately, there were not many of them.

The next task was to identify the paths which the immigrants followed between the last job in the old country and their job at the time of the 1977 interview; a path is a series of movements from job to job, usually four in number, each of which is characterized in Table 33. The six paths of interest are shown in Table 34.

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*Alejandro Portes, et. al., "The New Wave: A Statistical Profile of Recent Cuban Exiles to the U.S.," Cuban Studies, 7:1, January 1977, pp. 1-32.

**Parlin, Immigrant Professionals.

TABLE 33

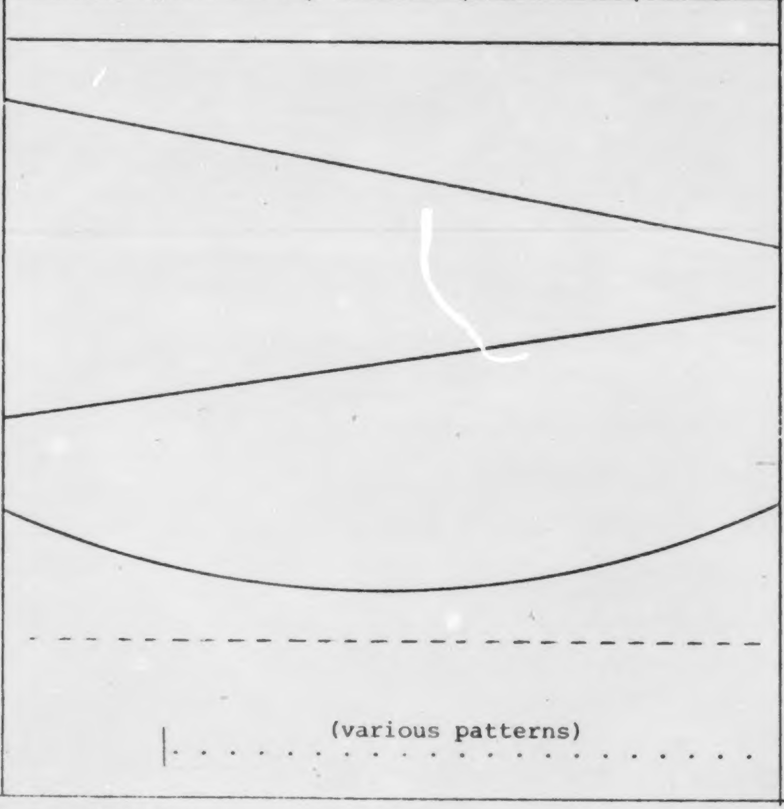
Characterization of Occupational Group Movements* Experienced by Respondents

TO FROM	1 PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, KINDRED	2 MANAGERS, PROPRIETORS, OWNERS	3 SALES WORKERS	4 CLERICAL WORKERS	5 CRAFT WORKERS	6 OPERATIVES, EXCEPT TRANSPORT	7 TRANSPORT OPERATIVES	8 NONFARM LABORERS	9 FARM LABORERS & FOREMEN	10 SERVICE WORKERS EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	11 PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS
1. PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, KINDRED	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2. MANAGERS, PROPRIETORS, OWNERS	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. SALES WORKERS	4	4	0	2	6	2	2	2	2	2	2
4. CLERICAL WORKERS	4	4	4	0	4	6	6	2	2	2	2
5. CRAFT WORKERS	4	4	6	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2
6. OPERATIVES, EXCEPT TRANSPORT	4	4	4	6	4	0	1	2	2	2	2
7. TRANSPORT OPERATIVES	4	4	4	6	4	1	0	2	2	2	2
8. NONFARM LABORERS	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	0	2	6	2
9. FARM LABORERS & FOREMEN	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	0	4	1
10. SERVICE WORKERS EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	2	0	2
11. PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	0

*A movement is a transition from one job to another; they are: 0=no change; 1=level; 2=down; 4=up; and 6=other

TABLE 34

Occupational Progression Paths From Last Job in Home Country to Current or Most Recent U.S. Job Experienced by Respondents



PATH	JOB 1	JOB 2	JOB 3	JOB 4	JOB 5	Respondents Number	Respondents Percent	Mean 1976 Earnings
CONSTANT						62	29.7	$17,723
DECLINE						50	23.9	10,113
INCLINE						36	17.2	11,593
CONCAVE						24	11.5	13,215
MIXED						12	5.7	8,890
NEW ENTRANTS						25	12.0	13,542
TOTAL						209	100.0%	$13,322

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey.

The most common of the paths, which we call Constant, is that of occupational group stability, a series of job transitions which are labeled either "0" (no change) or "1" (level); next comes Decline, a series of job transitions which is summarized by a downward movement between the last job in the old country (job 1) and the most recent job in this country (job 5). The third most common pattern is the exact opposite of Decline, Incline, in which the job at the time of the interview is in a higher occupational group than the last job in the old country. Interestingly, only 11% of the respondents had the Concave pattern, which has some of the qualities of Chiswick's U-shaped pattern (see footnote on page 105); perhaps with the passage of time, more of these patterns will occur in this group of immigrants, but they can be recruited only from the Decline and Mixed paths. The remaining two paths shown are Mixed, in which the job transition between job 1 and job 5 is that of the previously described "other" movement (i.e., of an indeterminate nature) and New Entries, that is the path followed by those who had no stated occupation in the old country.*

Characteristics of Those on the Six Paths: The characteristics of those following the various paths varied in predictable directions, as Table 35 shows. The Constant path, which was the most rewarding financially,** accounted for disproportionately large numbers of Eastern Hemisphere immigrants, males and non-relatives. The Concave path, while producing a $4,500 a year lower mean earnings figure than that for the Constants, also attracted high proportions of Eastern Hemisphere immigrants and males.

The Decline path, which produced the lowest earnings of the major patterns (excluding the small number of the Mixed path), included disproportionately large groups of women and Western Hemisphere immigrants and accounted for large proportions of the Operatives and the Clerical and Service workers. A closer examination of these fifty immigrants, whose occupational group movements suggest either underutilization of skills and/or discrimination, will be presented shortly.

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*Two other paths were possible, one of which is Convex, in which, for example, the immigrant reports his last old country job was that of farmworker, his first or subsequent job in this country as a craftsman, but his last job that of a farmworker again; the interview instruments suggested that two individuals probably fell into this category, but for the sake of simplicity, they were merged into the Mixed category. The other possibility, Return, a path of rises and falls, in which, for example, a craftsman in the old country moves down to operative in his first U.S. job, to professional, and back to the original level, craftsman, in his last job, simply did not occur.

**Respondents on the Constant path can be compared to those members of the SSA subsample who reported the same occupation in 1970 and 1972; the latter group, the "stayers" had higher incomes than other members of the subsample.

TABLE 35

Distribution of Selected Respondent Subgroups by the Six Occupational Paths Experienced
(as numbers and percents)

RESPONDENT SUBGROUPS	CONSTANT		CONCAVE		INCLINE		DECLINE		MIXED		NEW ENTRANTS		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Eastern Hemisphere	35	56	11	46	14	38	14	28	0	-	8	32	82	39
Canada	9	15	4	17	4	11	3	6	3	25	4	16	27	13
Mexico	1	2	2	8	9	25	5	10	2	17	4	16	23	11
Other Western Hemisphere	16	26	7	29	8	22	24	48	7	59	9	36	71	34
Unknown	1	2	0	-	1	3	4	8	0	-	0	-	6	3
Male	44	71	17	71	22	62	30	59	8	67	13	52	134	64
Female	18	29	7	29	14	38	20	40	4	33	12	48	75	36
Relative	29	47	15	63	20	56	31	62	9	75	16	64	120	57
Non-Relative	33	53	9	38	16	44	19	38	3	25	8	32	88	42
Unknown	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	4	1	1
Occupation Group-Current or Most Recent Job														
Professional, Technical, Kindred	33	53	10	42	5	14	0	-	0	-	8	32	56	27
Managers, Proprietors, Owners	6	10	6	25	8	22	0	-	0	-	1	4	21	10
Sales Workers	1	2	0	-	1	3	4	8	0	-	2	8	8	4
Craft & Kindred Workers	9	15	5	21	7	19	4	8	0	-	2	8	27	13
Clerical & Kindred Workers	7	11	2	8	4	11	10	20	4	33	2	8	29	14
Operatives, Except Transport	0	-	0	-	9	25	12	24	4	33	2	8	27	13
Transport Operatives	2	3	0	-	0	-	2	4	1	8	0	-	5	3
Nonfarm Laborers	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	10	2	17	1	4	8	4
Farm Laborers	1	2	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Service Workers, exc. Household	2	3	0	-	2	6	12	24	1	8	7	28	24	11
Household Service Workers	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	2	0	-	0	-	1	1
Not in Labor Force*	1	2	1	4	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	1
TOTAL	62	100%	24	100%	36	100%	50	100%	12	100%	25	100%	209	100%

*In two instances, respondents for whom paths had been identified were no longer in the labor market time of the interview; the paths to which they were assigned were those they followed up to their withdrawal from the labor market.

Source: TransCentury 1977 Immigrant Survey.

The Incline path attracted a disproportionate number of Mexican immigrants. The New Entries in the labor market included a disproportionate number of women and professionals; their earnings in 1976 were second only to those on the Constant path.

Bearing in mind the higher-than-average incomes among the respondents, as compared to the Social Security earnings subsample, one is struck by the fact that there were more respondents on the Decline path (50) than on the Incline path (36); if in a volunteer study group (which, by definition, includes no immigrants who became discouraged and left the country) with above average earnings, those on the Decline path outnumber those on the Incline path, must not there be a higher, perhaps substantially higher, incidence of downward occupational mobility in the balance of the cohort?

The Respondents on the Decline Path: Table 36 consists of a series of one-line vignettes of the fifty respondents, who in their 1977 job were working in a lower occupational group than their last job prior to immigration. It is among these 50 individuals who have made a downward occupational adjustment, if not necessarily a financial one, that we can expect to find both the victims of discrimination and instances of underutilized experience.*

Of the 50 on this path, 20 had held Professional positions prior to arriving in the U.S., a dozen had been Owners, Proprietors, or Managers, ten had been Craftsmen, and the remaining eight had been Sales and Clerical workers and Transportation Operatives. Only 10 were from developed nations (four of whom were from Communist nations), while 40 were from the Third World. Ethnically (making assumptions on the basis of nation of birth), it appears that 11 of the group are black, nine are Asians, 20 are Hispanics, and 10 are other white persons. White immigrants who were native speakers of English were particularly rare; there were evidentally only three of them, along with seven (presumably black) native English speakers from former British colonies in the Caribbean. Since the incidence of Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians among those on the Decline path is 80% (compared to approximately 64% of the 1970 cohort of immigrants as a whole) one can suspect that discrimination in the labor market may well be one of the causes for the downward mobility shown here.

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*We are here concerned with the underutilization of previous labor market experience; we have previously discussed a related but separate issue, the underutilization of work-oriented training. While we could not secure from our respondents firm data on the extent of their training (i.e., some of them may not have completed it), the extent of underutilization of experience appears to be less widespread than the underutilization of training.

TABLE 36

Labor Market Vignettes of 50 Immigrant Respondents Who Experienced Declines in Occupational Group Status, by Last Job in Old Country (circa 1969), Current or Most Recent U.S. Job (1977), Sex, Nation of Birth, Region of Origin, and 1976 Earnings

LAST JOB OLD COUNTRY	CURRENT OR MOST RECENT U.S. JOB	SEX	NATION OF BIRTH	REGION OF ORIGIN*	1976 EARNINGS
Professional & Technical					
Accountant	Statistical Clerk	F	Honduras**	Can	$ 8,750
Accountant	Truck Driver	M	Argentina	WH	19,000
Accountant	Sewer/Stitcher	F	Equador	WH	12,500
Accountant	Buyer's Assistant	F	Uruguay	WH	5,750
Chemical Engineer	Janitor	M	Philippines	EH	9,700
Electrical Engineer	Janitor	M	Mongolia**	WH	12,300
Pharmacist	Retail Sales Clerk	F	Germany	EH	5,000
Registered Nurse	Health Aide	F	El Salvador	WH	7,250
Clergyman	Bottling/Canning Oper.	M	Costa Rica	WH	12,864
Business/Commerce Teacher	Teacher Aide	M	Haiti	WH	7,900
Adult Ed. Teacher	Machine Operative	F	Mexico	Mex	5,000
Elementary Teacher	Hairdresser	F	Equador	WH	8,100
Elementary Teacher	Bookkeeper	F	Haiti	WH	6,500
Elementary Teacher	Nursing Aide	F	Philippines	EH	2,950
Secondary School Teacher	Inspector	F	Philippines	EH	13,600
Secondary School Teacher	Gardener	M	Philippines	EH	12,500
Secondary School Teacher	Billing Clerk	F	Philippines	EH	8,450
Tutor	Library Assistant	M	Poland	EH	8,173
Publicity Writer	Blue Collar Supervisor	F	India	EH	6,500
Trade Teacher	Misc. Mechanic	M	Uruguay	WH	13,450
Mean Earnings					9,309
Managers, Proprietors, & Owners					
Store Owner	Bartender	M	Lebanon	EH	3,750
Store Owner	Metal Plater	M	Jamaica	WH	8,200
Store Owner	Sewer/Stitcher	F	Italy	EH	12,400
Store Owner	Nursing Aide/Orderly	F	Jamaica	WH	9,500
Store Owner	Mechanic/Repairer	M	Dominican Rep	WH	2,188
Store Owner	Health Aide	F	Jamaica	WH	6,500
Store Owner	Insurance Underwriter	M	Jamaica	WH	25,000
Store Owner	Carpenter's Helper	M	Mexico	Mex	7,000
Airport Manager	Automobile Salesman	M	India	EH	38,000
Purchasing Agent	Retail Sales Clerk	M	Canada	Can	6,738
School Administrator	Statistical Clerk	F	Philippines	EH	11,700
Manager/Administrator	Statistical Clerk	M	U. Kingdom	EH	6,731
Mean Earnings					11,476
Sales Workers					
Retail Sales Clerk	Freight Handler	M	Mexico	Mex	13,200
Retail Sales Clerk	Bookkeeper	F	Canada	Can	7,692
Retail Sales Clerk	Assembler	M	Uruguay	WH	7,500
Mean Earnings					9,464

TABLE 36 - continued

LAST JOB OLD COUNTRY	CURRENT OR MOST RECENT U.S. JOB	SEX	NATION OF BIRTH	REGION OF ORIGIN	1976 EARNINGS
Clerical & Kindred Workers					
Cashier	Nursing Aide	F	Dominican Rep.	WH	10,000
Secretary	Nursing Aide	F	Trinidad	WH	7,100
Statistical Clerk	Nursing Aide	M	Haiti	WH	9,700
Mean Earnings					8,933
Craft & Kindred Workers					
Baker, Chef	Stock Clerk	M	Guatemala	WH	15,300
Carpenter	Welder, Flame Cutter	M	Mexico	Mex	12,100
Electrician	Machine Operative	M	Peru	WH	12,000
Electrician	Fork Lift Operative	M	Colombia	WH	12,525
Machinist	Lathe & Milling Machine Operative	M	Czech.	EH	26,500
Aircraft Mechanic	Welder, Flame Cutter	M	Colombia	WH	9,700
Railroad Mechanic	Drill-Press Operative	M	Sweden	EH	11,193
Plumber Apprentice	Shipping Clerk	M	Czech.	EH	12,000
Printing Press Operator	Machine Operative	M	Bahamas	WH	7,000
Shoe Repairer	Cook	M	Haiti	WH	7,140
Mean Earnings					12,546
Transport Equipment Operatives					
Taxi Driver/Chauffer	Housekeeper	F	Trinidad	WH	6,700
Truck Driver	Construction Laborer	M	Mexico	Mex	6,500
Mean Earnings					6,600

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*EH (Eastern Hemisphere); Mex (Mexico); Can (Canada); WH (other Western Hemisphere)

**Multiple migrants.

This is not the whole story, however, at least for those in the Professional, Technical category; fully half of those who were forced out of professional ranks had been teachers before they came to this country, a profession which has been hard-hit by the reductions in elementary and secondary school enrollments. Further, of these 10, only three had 16 or more years of education, the norm for teachers in this country. In fact, of the ex-professional group as a whole, six had 12 or fewer years of education, an educational level which would hardly make them eligible for a professional position in the U.S.; eight others had 13 to 15 years of education, making them marginal candidates for such jobs; and six others had 16 years or more. Thus at least some of the downward mobility of these respondents related to the fact that one can acquire professional status in some nations with fewer years of education than would be required in the U.S.

On the other hand, there appear to be, among these vignettes, some examples of underutilized experience; the pharmicist with 17 years of education, working as a sales clerk; the electrical engineer from Mongolia (who is a citizen of Brazil) with his 14 years of formal training would, hopefully, be employed as something other than a janitor; similarly, the 25 years of education claimed by the first accountant on the list might be better utilized than in her current job as a statistical clerk.

Those who moved away from professional work were not only the largest group among the 50, they were also the least well paid (among the major subgroupings); the ex-professionals' mean earnings of $9,309 ranked behind those of the ex-craftsmen, the ex-managers, proprietors and owners, and even below those reported by the former sales workers.

While the mean earnings of the 50 respondents on the Decline path was lower than that of the 209 respondents as a whole by about $3,000 a year; five individuals on this path told us of earnings in excess of $15,000 a year, including the airport manager turned auto salesman, and the accountant turned truck driver.

In summary, one can speculate that some of the downward occupational adjustment of the 50 respondents could be accounted for by understandable reactions to the labor market (higher educational standards required here and diminishing job opportunities for teachers) and that some of these downward movements were caused by discrimination; we cannot determine the relative significance of these two forces. Parlin's case history of anti-immigrant discrimination in instances in which the immigrants had been trained in U.S. educational institutions and had better grades on average than their native-born competitors, speaks more clearly on this issue than our findings do.

Given the fact that occupational groups are broadly defined and that there are many levels of skill (and income) within each of the groups, we decided to examine the specific jobs held by the 62 respondents on the Constant path. Generally, we found much more stability than mobility, and found that much of the mobility was of an apparently lateral nature (e.g., the immigrant who had worked as a physicist in the old country was teaching physics in a U.S. college in his most recent job). We did find, among the 62 individuals, three instances of Decline and three of Incline; the former were of some interest. There was a classic case of an M.D., a woman from the Eastern Hemisphere, who had not been able to secure a U.S. medical license and was working as a respiratory technician (a lower level job than that of physician, but still within the occupational group). Then there were two engineers, one working as a building superintendent and the other as a technician; their specific areas of expertise were useless to them in this country; one had been a nuclear engineer in Russia (and may have encountered security clearance problems with the U.S. nuclear industry), and the other had been working in the Philippines rubber industry. They apparently had not been able to make use of either their specific work experience or their more general training as engineers.

In summary, the study group consisted of 254 voluntary respondents who had higher earnings and were more likely to have homeland experience in the professions than members of the 1970 cohort of immigrants as a group. Although most of them had relatives in this nation prior to their arrival (and presumably most of them secured their immigrant visas through these relatives), the majority of the study group migrated for economic reasons, not in order to be reunited with these relatives.

The respondents had substantial work experience in their homelands; most of them quickly found jobs in the U.S., but many of them experienced initial downward occupation group mobility in the process. The U.S. labor market provided them with higher earnings and shorter hours than they had experienced abroad. The study group expressed more contentment with their jobs in this nation than in their housing and overall quality of life; as a group, they clearly felt that they were better off in the U.S. than they had been overseas.

The study group was divided along a number of variables, and 1976 earnings data were secured for the various subgroups. Those with more education, with more fluency in English, and with overseas professional experience, predictably, earned more than those with less education, less fluency, and without professional experience. Further, those who migrated for economic reasons earned more than those who were motivated by familial reasons.

There was substantial net occupational group movement between the last job in the old country and the first job in this country, much of it downward; women (rather than men) and those with 12 years or less education (as opposed to those with more than 12 years) suffered a disproportionate share of the net movement out of professional work.

Five occupation group movement paths were identified for the 184 respondents who described their jobs in both the homeland and in this country; 62 of them remained in a constant path; 50 experienced declines in job status, and 36, inclines; 24 were on a Concave path of initial downward movement followed by recovery, and 12 others had paths we termed mixed. We found it significant that there were more declines than inclines in this group of volunteer respondents, of above-average income (for members of this cohort) who had been here for seven years. We speculate that the incidence of declining occupation group status must be greater in the balance of the 1970 cohort of immigrants.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER SIX

This chapter consists of a summary of the material presented previously, a discussion of some of the policy implications growing out of the findings, and several specific recommendations on the nation's immigration policies.

The various populations examined in this study, in descending order of size, have been as follows:

- the foreign born enumerated by the 1970 Census;
- the various cohorts of immigrants, particularly those admitted since the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration Act became fully effective.
- the 1970 fiscal year cohort of immigrants, from which our sample, our subsample, and our study group were chosen;
- the 5,000 members of the 1970 cohort in the sample (on which "Immigrants and the American Labor Market" was based);
- the 1,393 members of the subsample of the 1970 cohort, for whom we secured Social Security Administration data, primarily on their taxable earnings; and finally
- the 254 members of the 1970 cohort who were interviewed in our study group (the respondents).

Legal and Demographic Background. Since most respondents in our study group (and a similar Canadian one) indicated that they had migrated for economic reasons, and since most immigrants become workers in the U.S., one might expect that manpower considerations would play a significant role in immigration policy. One might also, particularly in view of the stream of civil rights legislation in the last two decades, expect that the nation would have a policy of non-discrimination against immigrants in the labor market.

Both of these expectations would be mistaken. Not only are most immigrants admitted without reference to their labor market impact, being accepted into the nation for familial rather than societal reasons, but the Supreme Court has ruled that only sub-federal units of government may not discriminate on the basis of alien status, leaving the federal government and the private sector free to do so.

In terms of demographics, the nation, in the last decade, has been admitting permanent resident aliens at the rate of about 400,000 a year, a larger number of admissions than in recent decades, but a figure both proportionally and absolutely lower than at the turn of the century. Despite the recent increases in the numbers of arrivals (which is recorded only on a gross, not net, basis), the number of foreign-born persons and their percentage of the total population, has been shrinking in the last several decennial censuses. (These statements relate to legal immigration; illegal immigration being beyond, at the moment, the ken of the nation's statisticians.)

Post-1965 Immigrants. The characteristics of the immigrants admitted after the passage of the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, are quite different from those of the turn of the century immigrants and, similarly, apparently different from those of the current generation of illegal immigrants. In recent years, the cohorts of immigrants have displayed a demographic profile very much like that of the population as a whole; while the 1900 immigrants and the apprehended illegals of today tended to be young males, unaccompanied by women, and with little education, the legal immigrants are about evenly mixed by sex, are about as likely to be married as Americans generally, are just slightly younger than the population as a whole, and are slightly more likely to report their occupations as in the professions than the members of the U.S. labor force.

The 1970 cohort of immigrants is a good example of those immigrants admitted during a now ending transition period, after the nation shook off forty years of ethnocentric, country-of-origin screening policies and before we had to face up to the twin challenges of the refugees we created in Vietnam and the illegal immigrants among us.

Foreign-Born Workers. The 1970 Census provided substantial data on foreign-born Americans (most of whom presumably were immigrants); this is a group of persons of above average age, most of whom came to the nation many years earlier, and under provisions of earlier legislation, thus one must not assume that the profile of the foreign-born which emerged from the 1970 Census will be similar to that emerging from the 1980 and 1990 censuses. The labor force participation rates, unemployment rates of this group, and years of education, when age is held constant, are very much like those of the United States population as a whole. The immigrants, however, were less likely to work in the public sector (except for the Irish) than U.S. workers generally, and a larger proportion of those 25 to 44 years of age report professional and technical jobs than their native-born peers. While 1969 incomes for the foreign born were slightly lower than those of the native born, there were also signs of a bimodal income distribution, with the foreign born reporting higher proportions of low incomes as well as of high ones than the balance of the population.

There is no generally accepted method of calculating the net extent to which immigrants contribute to the growth of the labor force, but an estimate of 13% annually appears appropriate. (This does not take into account the contribution from illegal immigration.)

SSA Earnings of the 1970 Subsample. The data on the taxable wages earned by the 1970 subsample of immigrants, supplied by the Social Security Administration, indicated that the immigrants were somewhat more tightly tied to the U.S. labor market than U.S. workers generally, since a larger percentage of the immigrants reported taxable earnings in each of the four quarters of the year than the U.S. average. On the other hand, over time, particularly in 1974 and 1975, there was a growing number of the 1970 immigrants who were reported as having no earnings. We speculate, based on data on various subsets within this group of workers, that many of the younger women have withdrawn from the labor market, presumably to have children, and that some of the men and women have emigrated; deaths and conversion to beneficiary status are minimal factors.

Comparing the earnings of the 1970 cohort to those of U.S. workers generally indicates that soon after arrival the female immigrants earned more than U.S. female workers generally (perhaps because of longer hours of work), but that the men among the immigrants had not yet reached parity with U.S. male workers--although they were on their way. (Another researcher estimates that it takes white male immigrants 13 years to reach parity, and by 1975, the members of our cohort had been here for only five years.)

The income variations within the subsample were predictable; men earned more than women; Eastern Hemisphere and Canadian immigrants more than Mexican ones; those admitted with labor certifications more than those admitted as relatives. Sex, occupation in 1970, and immigration classification were the most powerful predictors of earnings (in the last instance, those with labor certifications earned more than those without); nation of origin and state of intended residence were less significant.

Experiences of the Respondents in the Labor Market. The experience of these 254 immigrants must be examined with the understanding that they had responded, in writing, to an invitation from INS to be included in this survey, that they had higher earnings than the SSA subsample previously described, and were more likely to be professionals than the 1970 cohort as a whole. We also suspect from this, and from the nation-of-origin distribution, that the respondents had more years of schooling and were more likely to speak English well than the cohort generally.

When asked why they came to the U.S., most responded that they did so for economic reasons; even among the subset of respondents who said that they had relatives in the U.S. prior to immigration a majority said that they came to the U.S. for economic, not familial, reasons. Close to 90% of the respondents said that they had worked prior to their arrival here and most of them quickly secured jobs in this country, and were rewarded (by 1977) by having a level of earnings, in constant 1969 dollars, more than three times the level they experienced in their last job in the home country. Not only was their adjusted income up, but the hours worked per week were down, as most changed from a six-day to a five-day work week. On the other hand, there was appreciable non-utilization of both professional experience and training, as the respondents moved into their first U.S. job. As the seven years in the U.S. labor market passed, there was a net increase in jobs in the professions, but not back to the level reported in the homeland. On average, the group reported their 1976 incomes at the $13,400 level, with 96% of the reported income being return for labor, with the rest being return for capital, income transfers, and miscellaneous.

When we looked at the varying experiences of the subsets within the study group, many of the findings paralleled those which had already been suggested by the Social Security data; men earned more than women, Eastern Hemisphere immigrants, more than those from Mexico; and those who had been professionals before arrival, more than those who had been in other lines of work. Also predictably those with more than 12 years of education earned more than those with less; those fluent in English earned much more than those who were not fluent; and the non-relatives (as we have defined them), more than relatives.

The economic differentials reported by the sub-groups varied sharply, with Canadians reporting very little real increase in income between 1969 and 1977, while immigrants from Mexico and from elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere told of pronounced increases in real earnings. Immigrants from the latter areas, understandably, scored higher on the contentment indices than those from Canada.

When the occupation group change patterns of the 254 respondents were assigned to several paths, we found that the largest group (62), which was also the best paid group, was on the Constant path; the next largest (50) were those who reported (as we defined it) a Decline in occupation group; next were those (39) on the Incline Path, and there were 26 on the Concave path. Given the volunteer and above-average-income characteristics of the study group, we found it interesting that there were more respondents on the Decline path than on the Incline one, and suggest that this ratio must be even more pronounced in the cohort as a whole. On the other hand, case-by-case examination of those on the Decline path indicated, among the one-time professionals, that many of those on the path had less than a high school education, and that a majority had less than 16 years of schooling.

What does all this suggest? We believe, drawing more from the Social Security, Census, and INS data than from the study group responses, and drawing from our previous work in the field, that three conclusions are indicated:

- Immigrants appear, after time, to compete successfully in the U.S. labor market with the native-born. A clear distinction can be made between the labor market impacts of legal immigrants and illegal ones; the former, presumably at least in part because of their legal status, appear not to depress wages in the manner which illegal ones do.

- In some instances, however, society appears to be losing the benefit of experience and/or training of immigrants, and they, in turn, are losing an opportunity to work at their full potential; this is occurring because of an undetermined mix of discrimination on one hand, and inefficient operations of the labor market, on the other.

- The nation's policies on the admission of immigrants largely operate without reference to the needs of the labor market, and sometimes when those needs are taken into consideration, the results are not those that had been anticipated.

The last point needs amplification. Recently the Congress decided to limit the extent to which labor certifications are issued to foreign medical graduates;* similarly, in recent years, the Labor Department has been steadily decreasing the number of labor certifications it issues. Neither of these decisions, of course, have any impact on the number of arriving immigrants, since the M.D.s and other would-be labor certification beneficiaries are replaced by relatives who are competing for visas within the hemispheric limits; and these limits are always reached. And since the relatives waiting for these visas are considerably less well-educated on average than the labor certification beneficiaries, particularly the M.D.s (we would speculate that their median years of education would be at about the 10th-grade level), and considerably less well-paid, the decision to deny M.D.s and other skilled persons labor certifications decreases both the median level of education and the median earnings of cohorts of arriving immigrants.**

Given another system, such as Canada's, the denial of certifications for M.D.s would reduce the total number of arriving immigrants and would have no indirect consequences.

Further, whether or not an immigrant visa is issued to a labor certification beneficiary, or to a relative, it should be remembered that securing an immigrant visa from the Government--like securing a permit to operate a television station--gives the recipient a major economic opportunity. In short, an immigrant visa is a Government-created economic good. This perception of the visa, however, is all but unknown. (Clearly, non-economic considerations must be borne in mind in the shaping of immigration policy.)

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*Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1976, Public Law 94-484.

**Any decision to increase immigration from Mexico will, similarly, tend to lower the mean educational level and anticipated earnings of future immigrant cohorts.

These three conclusions lead us directly to three labor market recommendations, and somewhat indirectly (along with some other policy considerations, such as our obligations to our defeated allies overseas, like the Indochinese) to four recommendations about immigration policy more broadly.

Labor Market Recommendations

(1) Corrective legislation should be introduced, passed, and signed into law essentially reversing the Supreme Court decisions condoning discrimination against permanent resident aliens by the Federal Government and by private employers.*

While there may be some small units within the Federal Government where one can argue that the employment of some aliens might not be appropriate, for national security reasons, and while any government may want to encourage its non-citizen employees to become citizens, the current blanket exclusion of permanent resident aliens from federal employment is not in keeping with either our traditions, or what hopefully will be our efforts to ban discrimination against aliens by private employers.

(2) All arriving immigrants who plan to work in the U.S. should be offered counseling on the U.S. labor market by counselors working for, or contracted by, the U.S. Employment Service. Perhaps in some areas this work could be performed by immigrant-serving agencies.

In this way, the Government would seek to help immigrants avoid the non-utilization of experience and training which occurred frequently among our respondents, and must occur even more frequently among immigrants generally. Upon arrival at the port of entry, or upon securing adjustment to immigrant status, the immigrant would be encouraged by INS to call the responsible agency. A brochure--hopefully written in several languages--outlining the nature of the services offered by or through the Employment Service would be given the immigrant. In the counseling the immigrant would be told about the employment-related rites of the nation, the various techniques used to secure work, the laws governing the labor market, and the services of the Employment Service. Specific information would be offered on training available and on the various credentialing processes. Such a program might be attempted on a demonstration basis before being instituted on a wider scale.

(3) In order to fully utilize the human capital brought to this country by immigrants, more extensive efforts should be made to offer bridge-the-gap training not necessarily designed to train the immigrant from scratch in a vocation, but to make the best use of his existing training and experience.

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*See Hampton v. Mow Sun Wong, 426 U.S. 88 (1976); and Espinoza v. Farah Manufacturing Co. 414 U.S. 86 (1973).

Some efforts along these lines have been made, particularly in the programs dealing with refugees. (There was, for example, a special program created for refugee Cuban MDs, to help train them in English, and assist them through the credentialing process.)

Immigration Policy Recommendations

Regarding immigration policy, per se, it is apparent to us that no alterations in the Immigration Law themselves can be as significant as far as the labor market is concerned as the more active enforcement of that law. The additional recommendations which follow closely parallel those made in our report to the National Commission for Manpower Policy.

(1) We recommend that the Congress give the Executive the discretion each year to set the immigration totals for the coming year, within a (admittedly arbitrary) range of 300,000 to 500,000 a year, with an escape clause for catastrophic refugee situations; although the Executive would announce the target figure early in the year, it would be free to increase it in the course of the year, but not to decrease it, as this would adversely affect persons who made plans on the basis of the earlier announcement.

The annual total would be based on two, totally separate calculations; the first would be the absorptive capacity of the nation, based primarily on the unemployment rate, the lower the rate, the larger the ceiling. The other consideration would be the nation's sense of responsibility for refugees and perhaps other overseas political consideration.

(2) Within the target figure, proposed above, there would be three preference groups:

First: immediate relatives of citizens (now admitted outside the numerical ceilings);

Second: needed workers and refugees; and

Third: other relatives

All immediate relatives who qualified, as now, would be admitted.

The Executive would determine each year the total admissions limit and what allocations would be made to the second preference workers and refugees (the immigrants selected for societal reasons) and to the third preference. The third preference familial immigrants would include those now in the first, second, and fourth preferences; the fifth preference (which facilitates immigration of siblings of U.S. citizens and _their_ families) would be eliminated.

Dropping the fifth preference would permit the admission of some 40-50,000 societally-screened immigrants annually, without increasing overall immigration. Further increases in societal admissions and thus increases in total admissions could be considered once effective progress is made towards decreasing illegal immigration.

(3) The labor certification program, operating within the framework described above, would be empowered to adjust the total number of arriving workers up or down, as it does not now. Further, it would be administered in such a way that the numbers of workers admitted qua workers would increase, while the number of family members, admitted as such, would decrease.

The labor certification program would be broadened to include the following elements:

- issuance of visas for would-be immigrants with skills in demand--that demand calculated more liberally than at present--but there would be no provision for certifications for specific employers who want specific workers; the latter is a made-to-order reward system for illegal immigrants and their employers;
- a public service apprenticeship program, in which aliens with needed skills accept public service jobs (presumably under rugged conditions, such as the only M.D. in a small desert town or an island in the Chesapeake Bay) in return for a two-year nonimmigrant visa which is converted to an immigrant visa at the end of the tour of duty;
- a self-employed craftsmen program, to provide highly skilled workers not wanting to work for others (such as violin repairmen, jewelers, and the like);
- perhaps a limited world-wide skills lottery program, which would offer young persons with a skill and/or an education a chance to come to the U.S., despite the fact that they did not fit into any other categories. Such a program would have to be carefully designed so that it would be useful to this nation internally, attractive externally, trouble-free, and self-supporting; and
- the revival of the negative certification system, so that all would-be immigrants (save refugees and those in the new first preference) could be barred from entry if they sought to come to areas of the nation or to occupations where they would depress a labor market. (This review would be handled on a class-basis, not on a case-by-case basis.)

(4) A few years from now our demographic profile will start to look like a fat beet, with relatively few young people and many middle aged and older ones. When that day comes, we may well want to redesign our immigration screening process around the need for young workers to help produce a more balanced work force.

Such a course of action would be inappropriate at the present, given the high rate of teenage unemployment.

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY

APPENDIX A

The first three sections of this appendix describe the methods used to draw the basic sample of 5,000 members of the Fiscal 1970 cohort of immigrants, to draw the subsample of 1,393 members of that cohort for whom we secured social security earnings data, and to secure the responses from the 254 members of the cohort who made up the study group; the terms sample, subsample, and study group having been defined earlier. The fourth section describes how we calculate the division of recent immigrant cohorts into the two classes, those selected for societal reasons and those selected for familial reasons; how we divided the immigrant cohort among the seven classes of immigrants, Eastern Hemisphere Worker, Eastern Hemisphere Workers' Relative, Eastern Hemisphere Relative, Eastern Hemisphere Relatives' Relative, Western Hemisphere Worker, Western Hemisphere Relative, and U.S. Citizen Relative; and how we estimated the number of arriving immigrants with labor certifications.

The Sample

The sample of 5,000, which supplied the statistical data for Immigrants and the American Labor Market, as well as the base for both the subsample and the study group, were selected from those members of the FY 1970 cohort who filed Alien Address Reports (Form I-53) in January of 1972. All had been admitted to the U.S. as immigrants (or adjusted to that status) between July 1, 1969 and June 30, 1970. All were of working age at the time of entry (i.e., 18-59). All, in January 1972. were living in one of nine states of high immigrant concentration where the sample was drawn: New York, California, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas, Massachusetts, Florida, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. (Of the fiscal 1970 immigrant cohort, slightly over 75% had indicated intentions to live in these states.)

In order to gather the necessary data on these immigrants, the Immigration and Naturalization Service asked its district offices for matched alien address reports and visa applications on an oversample of 7,181 individuals in the cohort. The requests were distributed in proportion to the distribution of the 1970 cohort of immigrants in these states. In all, data were returned on 6,354 members of the cohort. To derive the final sample, the state figures were deflated so that the nine "theoretical quotas" together would include the 5,000 immigrants originally proposed. As is illustrated in Table A-1, the sample used in the statistical analysis closely matches these quotas.

TABLE A-1

Derivation of the Sample of 5,000 Members of the FY 1970 Cohort of Immigrants

State	Requested by INS	Received	Theoretical Quota	Final Sample
New York	2,643	2,073	1,716	1,718
California	1,867	1,571	1,300	1,302
New Jersey	596	590	415	415
Illinois	524	527	365	363
Texas	459	469	319	318
Massachusetts	381	349	265	266
Florida	352	358	245	245
Michigan	273	233	190	190
Pennsylvania	266	183	185	182
TOTAL	7,181	6,354	5,000	4,999

Alien Address cards and visa application forms were, at that time, filed separately in the district offices; this combination of data had not been used previously (or to our knowledge subsequently) as a research tool. Data from the Alien Address Report, from the Immigrant Visa (Form FS-511), the Application for Immigrant Visa (Form FS-510), and the Memorandum of Creation of Record of Lawful Permanent Residence (I-181) were used in the preparation of that earlier report. Since there was a lack of clarity in the instructions, the documents filed by refugees which are comparable to the FS-511, the I-485 and I-485A, were not specified, and as a result, the sample included fewer refugees than would have been expected.

The Subsample

In 1976 an exchange of data agreement was made between the Social Security Administration on one hand, and the New TransCentury Foundation's Center for Labor and Migration Studies, on the other; the Center prepared a report on the impact of illegal immigrants on the Social Security system,* and SSA agreed to provide group data on the 1970 through 1975 taxable earnings of selected members of the 1970 cohort of immigrants.

We then drew a random sub-sample from those immigrants within the basic sample of 5,000 whose Alien Registration Reports carried a legible social security number. There were 1,496 individuals on the list submitted to the Social Security Administration; incomplete data supplied by the researchers eliminated seven of them, and 96 others were eliminated by SSA as "not in file," i.e., incorrect social security numbers, social security numbers for which accounts were out of balance (and therefore not accessible or usable at that time for statistical purposes), or possible read errors (i.e., electronic flaws) in the input or output of the records. This left a population of 1,393. Early in our work with SSA, we asked that a check be run on the entire file of 1,496, as to deaths (nine were noted) and conversion to beneficiary status (two were recorded). It is not known to what extent these 11 individuals were represented within the final universe of 1,393, as opposed to the initial one of 1,496. In any case, the incidence of death and conversion to beneficiary status was minimal.

Subsequently, data on incidence or non-incidence of social security taxable earnings and the amount of those earnings was obtained for the 1,393 members of the subsample; we provided SSA with information (which it would not have otherwise) on the characteristics of the immigrants. SSA provided us with group data for a group of cross-tabulations which we specified; this was a one-instance access to the data, and we did not have an opportunity to manipulate the data further. We would like to stress at this point that we at no time had any access to any SSA information about specific individuals; further, we assume full responsibility for the analysis and interpretation of the data.

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*"Interactions Between Illegal Alien Respondents and the Social Security Tax Collection System," 1976, prepared for the Office of the Assistant Commissioner, Social Security Administration.

The Study Group

In the summer of 1974, we asked the Immigration Service to pull from its (then decentralized) alien address report files copies of the 1974 alien address reports for 2,000 specific members of the cohort of 1970; these names had been generated, on a random basis, from within the basic sample of 5,000. (This work and all other work requested of INS was done with the knowledge, consent, and financial support of the U.S. Department of Labor.)

In the fall of 1975, 629 of the requested alien address forms were supplied to the researchers; in some instances, a major fraction of the request was satisfied, thus we received 49 of the 71 names we wanted from the Detroit district office. In other instances, we received no names at all. The resulting subsample was not only less than a third as large as we desired, but distributed in a biased way as well. In some instances the immigrants had left the nation or had died; some had moved to states other than the ones where they had lived previously. Others failed to file the form in 1974, and still others probably filed reports, but the forms themselves could not be located. Clearly another approach was needed.

In the meantime, two events occurred; the Privacy Act was passed, and INS centralized its filing of the alien address reports.

Finding that our previous efforts had failed, we then sought, from the then-leadership of INS, copies of the 1976 Alien Address Reports for 2,000 or so names previously submitted. After strenuous negotiations, and extensive (and expensive) involvement of attorneys on all sides, INS decided, as a matter of policy, not to provide us with the 1976 Alien Address reports; the agency could have handled the Privacy Act differently, but chose not to do so.

The INS counteroffer, which we had no choice but to accept, was to write to the list of members of the cohort of 1970, now shrunk to 1,806, and tell them about the study, and ask them to write back if they were willing to be interviewed. This was done late in 1976, and the letter sent to the immigrants can be seen in Figure A.

Of the 1,806 names provided to INS, it was able to locate usable addresses on 1,012. On April 21, 1977, INS reported to us that they had returns from 623 members of the cohort; 278 consenting, 235 not consenting, and 111 letters returned as undeliverable. (Subsequently, the names and addresses of 23 more consenting immigrants were provided to us, for a total of 301. It was from this universe of 301 persons that the TransCentury Corporation interviewers secured the interviews of 254 individuals.)

FIGURE A

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20536

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO
DOL Survey
AND REFER TO THIS FILE NO
CO 105.8-C

February 28, 1977

Dear

Immigrants play an important role in the U.S. work force. Several years ago, the Department of Labor published a report on this subject, based largely on the experience of immigrants who arrived (or adjusted status) between July 1, 1969 and June 30, 1970. That report was based on statistical data from government files and can be secured from Mrs. Ellen Sehgal, Office of Research and Development, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 9028, 601 D Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20213.

In order to supplement that earlier study, the researchers are now planning to interview a sample of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. at that time. The researchers of the TransCentury Corporation want to ask questions about immigrants' experiences in their jobs, information which will later help other immigrants, and which cannot be secured in any other way.

Your name has been randomly selected for such an interview. All such interviews are voluntary; all information will be reported without reference to any individual; no names will be written down on the questionnaire that the researchers will use and, the person interviewed can refuse to answer any question or end the interview at any time.

The "Privacy Act of 1974" (5 U.S.C. 552a) requires that we obtain your written consent before disclosing your name and address to the researchers. If you would be willing to be interviewed, which would be very helpful, please indicate by checking the first box; if not, check the second box. In either case, please sign your name, date the form, and mail it back to us in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. No postage is needed.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

James F. Greene

James F. Greene
Deputy Commissioner

A 18 855 505

(✓) I consent to the requested interview.

(   ) I do not consent to the requested interview.

____________________ (your signature)

__________ (date)

Because of the INS decision not to permit us access to up-to-date addresses (of persons whose names we already knew) it was not possible to secure a random sample of the cohort of 1970; as we have indicated in the body of the report, the study group appears to be more affluent than the cohort, generally, and has a disproportionate number of Canadians and Europeans in it, and a disproportionate representation of professional and technical workers.

While we were disappointed with the INS posture on this issue, it did give us a chance to read some of the reactions of immigrants to the Government's requests, including these excerpts:

- "...As you know I live in Philadelphia and I have to open store six days a week. If you going to hold the interview near me, I would. If you are going to hold the interview at Washington, D.C., I can't."
- "(I consent) however, I'm leaving for United Arab Emirates on or about March 15, 1977 for an approximately two-year period...."
- "I am sorry that I myself cannot cooperate in these interviews and research. The reason is my poor English. But my daughter, N.... L...., age 24, of same address would be more than willing and happy to partake in your program. She entered the USA on the same date (Nov. 4, 1969). I hope you will contact her and allow for these little change. It will make me very proud, too."

While several of the respondents thought that they were being asked to travel to an office for the interview, the interview was conducted at the respondent's home or some other place of his choice. The respondents, as is normal in survey research, had the option of not answering specific questions or discontinuing the interview. Their names and other identification were separated from their responses to the questions after the interviews had been validated.

FAMILIAL-SOCIETAL ESTIMATES

The following is a line-by-line description of the data sources, estimation techniques, and a definition of terms used on page 6, Appendix B, "Classes of Immigrants--by Familial and Societal Screening."

line

1. FAMILIAL SCREENING: includes actual (Eastern Hemisphere [EH]) and partially estimated (Western Hemisphere [WH]) admission figures of immigrants whose immigration equity was based on a relationship to a U.S. citizen or a legal permanent resident alien.

2. U.S. Citizen Relatives: immigrants admitted by virtue of family relationship to a U.S. citizen.

3(a) Admitted outside numerical limits of Eastern Hemisphere: these data were derived from INS Annual Report, Table 6A (for the years cited) and include the following columns: parents of U.S. citizens; wives of U.S. citizens; husbands of U.S. citizens; children of U.S. citizens; spouses of U.S. citizens; and children of spouses of U.S. citizens, for the following continents or areas of last permanent residence: Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceania.

3(b) Admitted outside numerical limits of Western Hemisphere: these data were derived from the same columns listed in 3(a), above, but include these continents of last permanent residence: North America and South America.

4(a) Admitted within numerical limits of Eastern Hemisphere: these data were derived from Table 4, for 1st, 4th, and 5th preference categories.

4(b) & 7(b) Admitted within numerical limits of Western Hemisphere: For estimation purposes, total natives of the Western Hemisphere (from Table 4) was divided into two categories: Mexican immigrants and non-Mexican immigrants, by subtraction of the Mexican immigrants (from Table 6) from the WH total. A workers-and-their-families estimate ratio (described below under item 9) was applied and the product subtracted from the two WH figures. The remainder was WH aliens admitted as relatives. Unpublished Visa Office estimates indicate that among the non-Mexican WH immigrants admitted as relatives, 20% are USC and 80% are LPR relatives, and that among the Mexican immigrants admitted as relatives, the rates are 40% and 60%, respectively. These rates were applied to the two categories to get the estimated number of USC and LPR relatives admitted within the numerical limits of the Western Hemisphere.

line

5. *Legal Permanent Resident Relatives*: immigrants admitted by virtue of family relationship to a legal permanent resident alien.

6. *Admitted outside numerical limits (both hemispheres)*: data are from Table 4 for the category, children born abroad to resident aliens or subsequent to issuance of visa.

7(a) *Admitted within numerical limits of Eastern Hemisphere*: includes, from Table 4, immigrants admitted in 2nd preference status.

7(b) *Admitted within numerical limits of Western Hemisphere*: estimation procedure the same as described under 4(b), above.

8. SOCIETAL SCREENING: includes immigrants admitted as needed workers, their dependents (estimated), refugees, and certain other classes of immigrants (described below).

9(a) *Needed workers and their families admitted from the Eastern Hemisphere*: from Table 4, includes 3rd, 6th, and nonpreference immigrants, their spouses and children.

9(b) *Needed workers and their families admitted from Western Hemisphere*: Certified WH worker data were derived from unpublished Visa Office data (for FY 1971-1974) and unpublished INS data (for FY 1975-1976, from computer printout IMSD420). A difference exists between the two data sources, in that the Visa Office formerly recorded *issuances* of visas in which a labor certification was attached; INS now handles that function and records *admissions* of immigrants with a labor certification. For the purpose of this Exhibit, it is assumed that a visa issued to a labor beneficiary equals an admission. In order to convert the certified worker admissions data to admissions estimates for those workers and their families, a worker-dependent ratio was secured for WH workers in the 3rd and 6th preference categories from Table 6 data. This showed that for the fiscal years of concern, 92.4 dependents were admitted for every 100 3rd and 6th preference prime beneficiary (worker). The WH worker data were then adjusted accordingly to produce workers-plus-dependents estimates. It is likely that WH labor certification beneficiaries have larger families than those from the EH, and thus the estimate on this line is probably an underestimate.

10(a) *Refugees from Eastern Hemisphere*: figures derived from *INS Annual Report*, Table 4, classes as follows: 7th preference; Hungarian parolees; and Refugees-escapees.

line

10(b) Refugees from Western Hemisphere: from Table 4, from Immigrants, Act of November 2, 1966 (Cuban refugees).

11 Other Classes: Includes foreign government officials and the special immigrant classes of ministers of religion, and employees of U.S. government abroad, from Table 4.

12 MISCELLANEOUS: includes all other classes of aliens not covered elsewhere in this table, i.e., all remaining alien adjustment and immigration act categories.

The following is a description of the data sources and estimation techniques used on page 5, Appendix B, "Classes of Immigrants--by seven categories." All figures used in the preparation of this Exhibit were taken from INS Annual Report, Table 4, for the years cited, as follows:

Eastern Hemisphere Worker: 3rd and 6th prime beneficiaries, plus nonpreference immigrants minus an estimate of nonpreference relatives (based on the ratio of 3rd and 6th preference secondaries to primes);

Eastern Hemisphere Workers' Relative: 3rd and 6th preference secondaries plus an estimate of nonpreference relatives, as above.

Eastern Hemisphere Relative and Eastern Hemisphere Relatives' Relative: 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th preference immigrant admission data did not differentiate between prime and secondary beneficiaries, so the proportion of secondaries to primes visa issuance was worked out from Visa Office statistics (Annual Report of the Visa Office, Table II) and applied to INS admission data to get relatives and relatives' relatives.

Western Hemisphere Workers: labor certification beneficiaries from the Western Hemisphere, as described under 9(b), above.

Western Hemisphere Relatives: Western Hemisphere workers subtracted from "natives of the western hemisphere, their spouses and children."

US Citizen Relatives: Immediate relatives, plus spouses of U.S. citizens and their children under "Immigrants Exempt from Numerical Limits."

Other: includes mainly refugees, plus other miscellaneous categories of immigrants listed in line 11, above.

The estimation techniques and data sources for page 7, Appendix B, "Immigrants Arriving with Labor Certifications," follows:

> The 1969-1974 data are based on Table II, Annual Reports of the Visa Office (for primary third and sixth preference beneficiaries), plus unpublished statistics from the FS-258 series of the Visa Office (for visas issued to nonpreference and Western Hemisphere immigrants), plus adjustee data from INS Annual Reports, Table 6B (for third and sixth preference beneficiaries), plus an estimate of nonpreference adjustees based on the number of nonpreference adjustees in each year multiplied by the percentage of labor certification beneficiaries among all third and sixth preference immigrants, from INS Annual Report, Table 4. Data on FY 1975-1976 immigrants arriving with labor certifications were derived from INS printout IMSD 420.

APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FY 1969-1976 COHORTS OF IMMIGRANTS

FISCAL YEARS	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	SOURCE/NOTE
TOTAL IMMIGRATION	358,579	373,326	370,478	384,685	400,063	394,861	386,194	398,613	U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration & Naturalization Service, Annual Report: Immigration & Naturalization Service, Table 1

MEDIAN AGE
(years)

Immigrant Median Age	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	SOURCE/NOTE
Both Sexes	24.8	24.3	24.3	24.4	24.0	23.7	24.4	24.9	Ibid., Table 10A
Males	25.2	25.0	24.8	24.8	24.2	23.8	24.4	24.9	
Females	24.2	23.8	23.9	24.0	23.8	23.7	24.5	24.9	

SEX
(males per 1,000 females)

Males per 1000 Females	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	SOURCE/NOTE
All Immigrants	857	901	872	877	872	877	880	865	Ibid., Tables 4 and 10
Excluding spouses of U.S. Citizens1/	945	1,008	964	941	917	925	925	925	1/Ratio computed by subtracting wives of U.S. citizens from all female immigrants, and husbands of citizens from all male immigrants

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

FISCAL YEARS	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	SOURCE/NOTE
MARITAL STATUS (as percents)									
Immigrants 18 & Older[2]									[2] Assuming that a statistically insignificant number of "married and other" would be less than 18 years of age, the 17 and under population was subtracted from the "single" category. Immigrant data from INS Annual Report, Table 10A; U.S. population data from Statistical Abstract of the U.S., for the years 1970 and 1973-1975, and by phone from the Population Division for 1969, 1971, 1972, and 1976, from Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 198, 225, 242, and 306.
MALE IMMIGRANTS									
Single	29.6	29.0	27.0	24.4	22.9	23.7	24.4	24.5	
Married	68.7	69.3	71.3	73.9	75.5	74.8	74.0	73.5	
Other	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.6	2.0	
FEMALE IMMIGRANTS									
Single	24.1	20.0	17.8	15.8	14.8	14.7	16.3	16.0	
Married	70.0	74.6	76.6	78.6	79.1	79.5	77.0	76.4	
Other	5.9	5.4	5.6	5.6	6.0	5.8	6.7	7.6	
U.S. POPULATION 18 & OLDER-% MARRIED									
Male	75.5	75.3	74.1	74.8	74.5	73.7	72.8	72.2	
Female	68.9	68.5	68.1	69.3	68.1	67.6	66.7	66.2	

FISCAL YEARS	1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		1976	
REGION OF BIRTH (as numbers and percents)																
TOTAL IMMIGRATION	358,579	99.9	373,326	100.1	370,478	99.9	384,685	100.0	400,063	99.9	394,861	99.9	386,194	99.9	398,613	99.9
Eastern Hemisphere Total[3]	202,225	56.3	222,239	59.6	209,664	56.6	220,951	57.5	226,940	56.7	221,110	56.0	216,542	56.0	233,607	58.5
Northern & Western Europe	34,113	9.5	34,387	9.2	27,023	7.3	25,230	6.6	25,372	6.3	24,257	6.1	22,058	5.7	23,563	5.9
Southern & Eastern Europe	83,915	23.4	81,652	21.9	69,483	18.8	64,763	16.8	67,498	16.9	56,955	14.4	51,938	13.4	48,848	12.2
Asia	75,679	21.1	94,883	25.4	103,461	27.9	121,058	31.5	124,160	31.0	130,662	33.1	132,469	34.3	149,881	37.6
Africa	5,876	1.6	8,115	2.2	6,772	1.8	6,612	1.7	6,655	1.7	6,182	1.6	6,729	1.7	7,723	1.9
Oceania	2,639	0.7	3,198	0.9	2,923	0.8	3,286	0.9	3,255	0.8	3,052	0.8	3,347	0.9	3,591	0.9
Western Hemisphere Total	156,354	43.6	151,087	40.5	160,814	43.3	163,734	42.5	173,123	43.2	173,751	43.9	169,652	43.9	165,006	41.4
Canada	18,582	5.2	13,804	3.7	13,128	3.5	10,776	2.8	8,951	2.2	7,654	1.9	7,308	1.9	7,638	1.9
Mexico	44,623	12.4	44,469	11.9	50,103	13.5	64,040	16.6	70,141	17.5	71,586	18.1	62,205	16.1	57,863	14.5
Caribbean	59,529	16.6	61,498	16.5	68,257	18.4	61,934	16.1	65,383	16.3	63,540	16.1	67,993	17.6	67,393	16.9
Central & South America	33,620	9.4	31,316	8.4	29,326	7.9	26,984	7.0	28,648	7.2	30,971	7.8	32,146	8.3	32,112	8.1

Source: INS Annual Reports, Table 8.

[3] Individual Eastern Hemisphere regions may not add to total, because a negligible number of "unknowns" were included.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

IMMIGRANTS' INTENDED RESIDENCE--by the ten most preferred states
(as numbers and percents)

FISCAL YEARS	1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		1976		SOURCE/NOTE
New York	94,403	26.3	97,621	26.2	92,478	25.0	93,833	24.4	93,626	23.4	88,068	22.3	86,492	22.4	85,928	21.6	Source: INS Annual Report, Table 12.
California	71,183	19.9	74,268	19.9	69,825	18.8	80,121	20.8	85,062	21.3	86,861	22.0	83,184	21.5	88,700	22.3	
Illinois	20,426	5.7	20,910	5.6	23,254	6.3	25,611	6.6	25,489	6.4	24,814	6.3	24,684	6.4	27,497	6.9	
Massachusetts	19,043	5.3	15,212	4.1	15,760	4.3	13,364	3.5	12,484	3.1	12,417	3.1	13,102	3.4	12,493	3.1	
New Jersey	18,935	5.3	23,699	6.3	23,591	6.4	24,011	6.2	25,236	6.3	24,679	6.3	25,980	6.7	24,905	6.2	
Texas	1[illegible],739	5.0	18,264	4.9	20,210	5.4	23,624	6.1	26,619	6,7	28,976	7.3	23,972	6.2	[illegible]3,805	6.0	
Florida	13,783	3.8	13,952	3.7	17,438	4.7	17,027	4.4	22,117	5.5	[illegible],409	4.9	22,921	5.9	25,182	6.3	
Pennsylvania	10,041	2.8	10,584	2.8	10,132	2.7	9,431	2.5	8,886	2.2	8,721	2.2	8,641	2.2	8,792	2.2	
Michigan	9,407	2.6	10,730	2.9	9,274	2.5	9,166	2.4	9,892	2.5	10,072	2.6	8,9[illegible]8	2.3	8,399	2.1	
Connecticut	8,332	2.3	- 4/		-		7,214	1.9	-		-		-		-		
Hawaii	-		9,013	2.4	-		-		-		-		7.012	1.8	7,789	1.9	
Ohio	-		-		8,377	2.3	-		6,993	1.7	-		-		-		
Maryland	-		-		-		-		-		7,359	1.9	-		-		
10 State Total 5/	283,266	79.0	294,403	78.9	290,241	78.4	303,402	18.9	316,394	79.1	311,376	78.9	304,896	78.9	313,490	78.6	
Balance of States	75,29[illegible]	21.0	78,923	21.1	80,237	21.6	81,283	21.1	83,669	20.9	83,485	21.1	81,298	21.1	85,123	21.4	
Total Immigration	35[illegible],579	100.0	373,126	100.0	370,478	100.0	384,685	100.0	400,063	100.0	394,861	100.0	386,194	100.0	398,613	100.0	

4/ A dash denotes that immigration to that state in that year did not rank in the upper ten, and therefore the numbers were not included in this table.

5/ Sum of individual percentages may not add to total due to rounding.

CLASSES OF IMMIGRANTS--by admission classes under the immigration laws
(as numbers)

FISCAL YEARS	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
TOTAL IMMIGRATION	358,579	373,326	370,478	384,685	400,063	394,861	386,194	398,613
Immigrants Subject to Numerical Limitations of Eastern Hemisphere	157,306	172,547	158,152	164,849	166,108	159,059	160,460	166,204
Relative Preferences	92,458	92,432	82,191	83,165	92,054	94,915	95,945	102,007
1st Preference-Unmarried Sons and Daughters of U.S. Citizens and Their Children	1,124	1,089	1,111	858	936	932	871	931
2nd Preference-Spouses, Unmarried Sons and Daughters of Resident Aliens, and Their Children	25,719	30,714	33,990	36,484	38,680	43,920	43,077	44,339
4th Preference-Married Sons and Daughters of U.S. Citizens, Their Spouses and Children	9,914	8,350	5,230	3,971	4,060	3,404	3,623	4.077
5th Preference-Brothers and Sisters of U.S. Citizens, Their Spouses and Children	55,701	52,275	41,860	41,852	48,378	46,659	48,374	52,660
Occupational Preferences	31,763	34,016	34,563	33,714	26,767	28,482	29,334	26,361
3rd Preference-Immigrants in Professions	9,677	10,142	9,807	10,385	8,521	7,763	8,353	8,318
6th Preference-Other Workers	9,100	8,786	9,011	7,915	4,549	6,420	6,724	4,792
Their Spouses and Children	12,986	15,088	15,745	15,414	13,697	14,299	14,247	13,251
7th Preference	9,533	9,863	6,361	10,396	9,808	9,076	9,129	11,907
Nonpreference	23,170	36,058	34,896	37,387	37,363	26,475	25,961	25,775
Aliens Adjusted Under Section 244, I&N Act	372	176	131	185	114	104	86	143
Foreign Government Officials Adjusted Under Sec. 13 of the Act of 9/11/57	10	2	10	2	2	7	5	11
Immigrants Subject to Numerical Limitations of Western Hemisphere	133,689	114,736	122,474	118,817	116,803	115,072	121,101	118,569
Natives of the Western Hemisphere, Their Spouses and Children	127,346	102,529	102,938	101,232	96,762	99,800	96,547	91,319
Immigrants, Act of November 2, 1966	6,343	12,207	19,536	17,585	20,041	15,272	24,554	27,250
Immigrants Exempt from Numerical Limitations	67,584	86,043	89,852	101,019	117,152	120,730	104,633	113,840
Immediate Relatives	60,016	79,213	80,845	86,332	100,953	104,344	91,504	102,019
Wives of U.S. Citizens	28,915	36,276	36,960	36,801	40,145	40,274	33,719	37,856
Husbands of U.S. Citizens	10,358	15,619	17,340	21,496	27,123	27,284	21,901	22,234
Children of U.S. Citizens	12,731	18,095	17,970	18,797	22,990	24,758	22,315	23,889
Orphans Adopted Abroad or to be Adopted	2,080	2,409	2,724	3,023	4,015	4,770	5,633	6,552
Other Children	10,651	15,686	15,246	15,774	18,975	19,983	16,682	17,337
Parents of U.S. Citizens	8,012	9,223	8,575	9,238	10,675	12,528	13,569	18,040
Special Immigrants	6,130	6,342	5,831	7,166	7,098	6,964	7,030	5,961
Ministers of Religion, Their Spouses and Children	1,357	1,497	1,417	1,505	1,549	1,416	1.231	1.368
Employees of U.S. Government Abroad, Their Spouses & Children	227	290	252	368	508	1,176	1,622	449
Children Born Abroad to Res. Aliens or Subsequent to Issuance of Visa.	2,935	3,012	2,939	3,566	3,760	3,477	3,636	3,405
Aliens Adjusted Under Section 244, I&N Act	46	23	33	54	27	20	35	106
Aliens Adjusted Under Section 249, I&N Act	1,565	1,520	1,190	1,653	1,254	879	556	633
Immigrants, Act of September 11, 1957	-	-	1	1	4	-	-	10
Hungarian Parolees, Act of July 25, 1958	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Refugee-Escapees, Act of July 14, 1960	985	20	36	4	-	-	-	-
Immigrants, Act of September 26, 1961	17	4	1	2	1	-	-	-
Immigrants, Act of October 24, 1962	93	50	39	26	11	7	1	2
Spouses of U.S. Citizens and Their Children, Act of April 17, 1970	-	9	2,641	6,828	8,276	7,885	5,057	5,014
Other Immigrants Not Subject to Numerical Limitations	340	405	458	678	809	1,030	991	834

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FISCAL YEARS	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	SOURCE/NOTE
CLASSES OF IMMIGRANTS--by seven categories (as numbers and percents)									
Eastern Hemisphere Worker	32,470 9.1%	38,576 10.4%	37,756 10.2%	38,601 10.0%	31,303 7.8%	27,368 6.9%	28,431 7.4%	25,920 6.5%	
Eastern Hemisphere Workers' Relative	22,463 6.3	31,098 8.3	31,703 8.6	32,500 8.4	32,827 8.2	27,589 7.0	26,864 7.0	26,216 6.6	
Eastern Hemisphere Relative	50,835 14.2	53,853 14.4	52,040 14.0	53,879 14.0	58,695 14.7	62,908 15.9	62,778 16.3	65,884 16.5	
Eastern Hemisphere Relatives' Relative	41,623 11.6	38,579 10.3	30,151 8.1	29,286 7.6	33,359 8.3	32,007 8.1	33,167 8.6	36,123 9.1	
Western Hemisphere Worker	32,079 [illegible]	23,841 6.4	11,442 3.1	8,874 2.3	4,625 1.2	5,293 1.3	6,523 1.7	4,720 1.2	
Western Hemisphere Relative	95,267 26.6	78,685 21.1	91,496 24.7	92,358 24.0	92,137 23.0	94,507 23.9	90,024 23.3	86,599 21.7	
U.S. Citizen Relative	60,016 16.7	79,222 21.2	83,486 22.5	93,160 24.2	109,229 27.3	112,729 28.5	96,561 25.0	107,033 26.9	
Subtotal Seven Categories[6]	334,753 93.4	334,257 92.2	338,074 91.2	348,658 90.6	362,175 90.5	362,401 91.8	344,348 89.2	352,495 88.4	
Other	23,826 6.6	29,069 7.8	32,404 8.7	36,027 9.4	37,888 9.4	32,460 8.2	41,846 10.8	46,118 11.6	
TOTAL	358,579 100.0	373,326 100.0	370,478 99.9	384,685 100.0	400,063 99.9	394,861 100.0	386,194 100.0	398,613 100.0	

[6] Sum of individual percentages may not add to total, due to rounding.

Source: Admissions data from INS Table 4; methodology used in dividing categories described in Appendix A.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

CLASSES OF IMMIGRANTS--by familial and societal screening
(as numbers and percents)

FISCAL YEARS	1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		1976	
1. FAMILIAL SCREENING	220,992	61.6	231,355	62.0	249,526	67.4	265,027	68.9	292,902	73.2	300,741	76.2	280,138	72.5	294,718	73.9
2. U.S. Citizen Relatives	143,163	39.9	155,263	41.6	152,851	41.3	163,881	42.6	188,076	47.0	189,758	48.1	173,518	44.9	188,267	47.2
3. Admitted outside numerical limits																
(a) Eastern Hemisphere	40,119		49,060		51,022		55,231		61,461		63,019		56,570		68,553	
(b) Western Hemisphere	19,897		30,153		32,464		37,929		47,768		49,710		39,991		38,480	
4. Admitted within numerical limits																
(a) Eastern Hemisphere	66,739		61,718		48,201		46,681		53,374		50,995		52,868		57,668	
(b) Western Hemisphere	16,408		14,332		21,164		24,040		25,473		26,034		24,089		23,566	
5. Legal Permanent Resident Relatives	77,829	21.7	76,092	20.4	96,675	26.1	101,146	26.3	104,826	26.2	110,983	28.1	106,620	27.6	106,467	26.7
6. Admitted outside numerical limits (both hemispheres)	2,935		3,012		2,939		3,566		3,760		3,477		3,636		3,405	
7. Admitted within numerical limits																
(a) Eastern Hemisphere	25,719		30,714		33,990		36,484		38,680		43,920		43,077		44,339	
(b) Western Hemisphere (est)	49,175		42,366		59,746		61,096		62,386		63,586		59,907		58,713	
8. SOCIETAL SCREENING	135,111	37.7	139,828	37.4	118,908	32.1	117,037	30.4	104,936	26.2	92,088	23.3	104,387	27.0	102,202	25.6
9. Needed Workers and Their Families	116,653	32.5	115,948	31.0	91,296	24.6	87,175	22.7	73,028	18.3	65,141	16.5	67,846	17.6	61,217	15.4
(a) Eastern Hemisphere	54,933		70,073		69,282		71,101		64,130		54,957		55,295		52,136	
(b) Western Hemisphere	61,720		45,875		22,014		16,074		8,898		10,184		12,551		9,081	
10. Refugees	16,364	4.7	22,091	5.9	25,933	7.0	27,987	7.3	29,849	7.5	24,348	6.2	33,683	8.7	39,157	9.8
(a) Eastern Hemisphere	10,521		9,883		6,397		10,402		9,808		9,076		9,129		11,907	
(b) Western Hemisphere	6,343		12,208		19,536		17,585		20,041		15,272		24,544		27,250	
11. Other Classes	1,594	0.4	1,789	0.5	1,679	0.5	1,875	0.5	2,059	0.5	2,599	0.7	2,858	0.7	1,828	0.5
12. MISCELLANEOUS	2,433	0.7	2,187	0.6	2,030	0.5	2,599	0.7	2,220	0.6	2,036	0.5	1,699	0.4	1,728	0.4
TOTAL ACTUAL IMMIGRATION	358,579		373,326		370,478		384,685		400,063		394,861		386,194		398,613	
TOTAL BY ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION METHOD	358,536	100.0	373,370	100.0	370,464	100.0	384,663	100.0	400,056	100.0	394,865	100.0	386,194	99.9	398,648	99.9

Source: Data derived from INS Annual Reports, Tables 4, 6, and 6A, and from unpublished Department of State and Immigration Service data on labor certification beneficiaries; estimation technique is described in Appendix A. The actual arrival of Vietnamese refugees in 1976 is not reflected in these statistics, because they had not yet [illegible] of immigrant status by June 30, 1976. Data for 1976's transitional quarter are not included in these calculations.

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OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	Immigrant cohort 1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Foreign Born 1970 Census	U.S. Employed Persons, 1970	SOURCE/NOTE
OCCUPATION GROUP (as percents of those with reported occupations)											
Professional, Technical & Kindred .	26.0	29.4	31.9	31.1	26.3	23.5	25.7	26.6	15.5	14.8	Source: Immigrant data from INS Annual Reports, Table 10A; Foreign born data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports: National Origin and Language, Table 7; U.S. data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-D-1, United States Summary (1973), Table 222.
Managers & Administrators, exc. farm	3.4	3.7	4.1	4.9	5.9	6.1	6.7	7.5	7.8	8.3	
Sales Workers						2.0	2.3	2.5	6.6	7.1	
Clerical & Kindred.	} 11.2	} 10.5	} 9.6	} 9.5	} 10.2	8.7	9.5	9.6	14.0	18.0	
Craftsmen & Kindred	17.1	17.9	14.3	12.0	12.2	13.2	13.8	12.1	14.0	13.9	
Operatives, exc. Transport.						10.2	12.3	13.5	18.3	13.7	
Transport Equipment Operatives. . .	} 10.7	} 11.7	} 12.3	} 12.1	} 13.6	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.9	3.9	
Laborers, except farm	8.4	9.0	8.6	9.7	11.7	12.1	8.7	7.8	4.0	4.5	
Farmers & Farm Managers	2.4	2.4	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.6	1.9	
Farm Laborers & Foremen	3.4	2.8	3.6	4.1	4.0	4.6	4.2	4.0	1.7	1.2	
Service Workers, exc. private house.	6.7	5.9	8.0	9.8	10.5	12.0	10.4	9.0	13.7	11.3	
Private Household Workers	10.8	6.7	6.9	6.7	5.6	5.8	4.0	4.4	1.9	1.5	
Total Reporting Occupation	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.1	
n=	155,753	157,189	153,122	157,241	156,477	151,268	149,605	154,658	4,039,763	76,553,599	
Housewives, Children & those with no occupation reported	202,826	216,1[illegible]	217,356	227,444	243,586	243,593	236,589	243,955	n/a	n/a	
TOTAL IMMIGRATION	358,579	373,326	370,478	384,685	400,063	394,861	386,194	398,613	n/a	n/a	

FISCAL YEARS	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	SOURCE/NOTE
IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING WITH LABOR CERTIFICATIONS (as percents)									
Percent Arriving with Labor Certifications	16.6	14.9	13.1	11.7	8.7	7.8	7.7	6.4	See Appendix A for estimation method and data sources.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

THE BEST MODEL

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *M U L T I P L E   R E G R E S S I O N* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
                                                                                                       VARIABLE LIST 1
DEPENDENT VARIABLE..   ANNEARN                                                                       REGRESSION LIST 1

VARIABLE(S) ENTERED ON STEP NUMBER 4..  CANADA

MULTIPLE R              0.52539          ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE  DF     SUM OF SQUARES          MEAN SQUARE          F
R SQUARE                0.27603          REGRESSION             4.   4238834692.61059     1059708673.15265     19.63555
ADJUSTED R SQUARE       0.26197          RESIDUAL             206.  11117591798.85025       53968892.22743
STANDARD ERROR       7346.35231

---------------------VARIABLES IN THE EQUATION----------------   --------------VARIABLES NOT IN THE EQUATION--------------------

VARIABLE*          B          BETA      STD ERROR B       F         VARIABLE*   BETA IN     PARTIAL    TOLERANCE         F

MALE           6394.502     0.36084     1061.48748     36.290       OTWH        0.05172     0.03933     0.41862        0.318
EDGR12         3080.063     0.18027     1081.34718      8.113       FLUENT      0.08821     0.09520     0.84321        1.875
EH             4797.296     0.27527     1135.88631     17.837       NONREL      0.09501     0.11115     0.99085        2.564
CANADA         4815.829     0.18857     1672.32389      8.293       AGE3544     0.06896     0.08008     0.97633        1.323
(CONSTANT)     5129.637                                             AGE4554    -0.01377    -0.01596     0.97339        0.052
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

*The variables abbreviated above are as follows:

EDGR12 = Education Greater than 12 Years
EH = Eastern Hemisphere
OTWH = Other Western Hemisphere (i.e., exclusive of Canada and Mexico)
NONREL = Nonrelative
AGE3544= Age group 35-44
AGE4554= Age group 45-54

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

FINAL TABLE

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * M U L T I P L E   R E G R E S S I O N * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
                                                                                                                   VARIABLE LIST 1
DEPENDENT VARIABLE..   ANNEARN                                                                                   REGRESSION LIST 1

VARIABLE(S) ENTERED ON STEP NUMBER 8..    AGE4554

MULTIPLE R              0.54536          ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE   DF       SUM OF SQUARES        MEAN SQUARE        F
R SQUARE                0.29742          REGRESSION              8.    4567339253.72141    570917406.71518    10.68907
ADJUSTED R SQUARE       0.26960          RESIDUAL              202.   10789087237.73943     53411322.95911
STANDARD ERROR    7308.30507

-------------- VARIABLES IN THE EQUATION ---------------------   ------------- VARIABLES NOT IN THE EQUATION ----------------

VARIABLE*         B           BETA      STD ERROR B        F       VARIABLE*   BETA IN       PARTIAL     TOLERANCE          F

MALE        6341.612        0.35786     1065.18190    35.445      OTWH        0.00167       0.00124       0.38577       0.000
EDGR12      2573.515        0.15063     1109.47757     5.380
EH          4380.776        0.25137     1156.84309    14.340
CANADA      4105.243        0.16075     1731.17120     5.623
NONREL      1673.458        0.09702     1022.46364     2.679
FLUENT      1808.929        0.09415     1236.99487     2.138
AGE3544     1477.197        0.08421     1180.78408     1.565
AGE4554     603.1886        0.03085     1319.23320     0.209
(CONSTANT)  2930.945
```

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*See Statistical Appendix, page 8 for variable definitions.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

SUMMARY TABLE

VARIABLE*	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARE	RSQ CHANGE	SIMPLE R	B	BETA
MALE	0.36140	0.13061	0.13061	0.36140	6341.612	0.35786
EDGR12	0.45395	0.20607	0.07546	0.29223	2573.515	0.15063
EH	0.49688	0.24689	0.04082	0.27357	4380.776	0.25137
CANADA	0.52539	0.27603	0.02914	0.09353	4105.243	0.16075
NONREL	0.53383	0.28497	0.00894	0.11813	1673.458	0.09702
FLUENT	0.54029	0.29191	0.00694	0.20398	1808.929	0.09415
AGE3544	0.54470	0.29669	0.00478	0.11815	1477.197	0.08421
(CONSTANT)					2930.945	0.03085

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*See Statistical Appendix, page 8 for variable definitions.